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WEEKS

THE

# WORKS

OF THE

## REV. JONATHAN SWIFT, D. D.,

DEAN OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

*ARRANGED BY THOMAS SHERIDAN, A. M.*

WITH

NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

A NEW EDITION, IN NINETEEN VOLUMES;

CORRECTED AND REVISED

*BY JOHN NICHOLS, F. S. A. EDINBURGH AND PERTH.*

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A TRITICAL

A

# TRITICAL ESSAY

UPON THE

# FACULTIES OF THE MIND.

TO ———

SIR,

BEING so great a lover of antiquities, it was reasonable to suppose, you would be very much obliged with any thing that was new. I have been of late offended with many writers of essays and moral discourses, for running into stale topicks and threadbare quotations, and not handling their subject fully and closely: all which errours I have carefully avoided in the following essay, which I have proposed as a pattern for young writers to imitate. The thoughts and observations being entirely new, the quotations untouched by others, the subject of mighty importance, and treated with much order and perspicuity, it has cost me a great deal of time; and I desire you will accept and consider it as the utmost effort of my genius.

# A CRITICAL ESSAY UPON THE FACULTIES OF THE MIND.

PHILOSOPHERS say, that man is a microcosm, or little world, resembling in miniature every part of the great: and, in my opinion, the body natural may be compared to the body politick: and if this be so, how can the epicurean's opinion be true, that the universe was formed by a fortuitous concourse of atoms: which I will no more believe, than that the accidental jumbling of the letters of the alphabet, could fall by chance into a most ingenious and learned treatise of philosophy. *Risum teneatis amici?* [HOR.] This false opinion must needs create many more; it is like an errour in the first concoction, which cannot be corrected in the second; the foundation is weak, and whatever superstructure you raise upon it, must of necessity fall to the ground. Thus men are led from one errour to another, until with Ixion they embrace a cloud instead of Juno; or like the dog in the fable lose the substance in gaping at the shadow. For such opinions cannot cohere; but like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, must separate and break in pieces. I have read in a

certain author, that Alexander wept because he had no more worlds to conquer; which he needed not have done, if the fortuitous concourse of atoms could create one: but this is an opinion, fitter for that many headed beast the vulgar, to entertain, than for so wise a man as Epicurus; the corrupt part of his sect only borrowed his name, as the monkey did the cat's claw, to draw the chesnut out of the fire.

However, the first step to the cure, is to know the disease; and though truth may be difficult to find, because, as the philosopher observes, she lives in the bottom of a well, yet we need not, like blind men, grope in open daylight. I hope I may be allowed, among so many far more learned men, to offer my mite, since a standerby may sometimes perhaps see more of the game, than he that plays it. But I do not think a philosopher obliged to account for every phenomenon in nature, or drown himself with Aristotle, for not being able to solve the ebbing and flowing of the tide, in that fatal sentence he passed upon himself, *Quia te non capio, tu capies me.* Wherein he was at once the judge and the criminal, the accuser and executioner. Socrates, on the other hand, who said he knew nothing, was pronounced by the oracle to be the wisest man in the world.

But to return from this digression: I think it as clear as any demonstration of Euclid, that Nature does nothing in vain; if we were able to dive into her secret recesses, we should find that the smallest blade of grass, or most contemptible weed, has its particular use: but she is chiefly admirable in her minutest compositions, the least and most contemptible insect, most discovers the art of nature, if I may

I may so call it, though nature, which delights in variety, will always triumph over art: and as the poet observes,

Naturam expellas furca licet, usque recurret. HOR.

But the various opinions of philosophers, have scattered through the world as many plagues of the mind, as Pandora's box did those of the body; only with this difference, that they have not left hope at the bottom. And if truth be not fled with Astrea, she is certainly as hidden as the source of Nile, and can be found only in Utopia. Not that I would reflect on those wise sages, which would be a sort of ingratitude; and he that calls a man ungrateful, sums up all the evil that a man can be guilty of,

Ingratum si dixeris, omnia dicis.

But, what I blame the philosophers for, (though some may think it a paradox) is chiefly their pride; nothing less than an *ipse dixit*, and you must pin your faith on their sleeve. And though Diogenes lived in a tub, there might be, for aught I know, as much pride under his rags, as in the fine spun garments of the divine Plato. It is reported of this Diogenes, that when Alexander came to see him, and promised to give him whatever he would ask, the cynick only answered, "Take not from me "what thou canst not give me, but stand from "between me and the light;" which was almost as extravagant as the philosopher, that flung his money into the sea, with this remarkable saying ———

How different was this man from the usurer, who being told his son would spend all he had got,

replied, " He cannot take more pleasure in spend-
" ing, than I did in getting it." These men could see the faults of each other, but not their own; those they flung into the bag behind; *non videmus id manticæ quod in tergo est.* I may perhaps be censured for my free opinions by those carping Momuses whom authors worship, as the Indians do the devil, for fear. They will endeavour to give my reputation as many wounds, as the man in the almanack; but I value it not; and perhaps like flies, they may buzz so often about the candle, till they burn their wings. They must pardon me, if I venture to give them this advice, not to rail at what they cannot understand: it does but discover that self-tormenting passion of envy, than which the greatest tyrant never invented a more cruel torment:

Invidia Siculi non invenere Tyranni
Tormentum majus— JUV.

I must be so bold to tell my criticks and witlings, that they can no more judge of this, than a man that is born blind, can have any true idea of colours. I have always observed, that your empty vessels sound loudest: I value their lashes as little as the sea did those of Xerxes, when he whipped it. The utmost favour a man can expect from them is, that which Polyphemus promised Ulysses, that he would devour him the last: they think to subdue a writer, as Cæsar did his enemy, with a *Veni, vidi, vici.* I confess I value the opinion of the judicious few, a Rymer, a Dennis, or a W———k; but for the rest, to give my judgment at once, I think the long dispute among the philosophers about a *vacuum*, may be determined in the affirmative, that

it

it is to be found in a critick's head. They are at best but the drones of the learned world, who devour the honey, and will not work themselves; and a writer need no more regard them, than the moon does the barking of a little senseless cur. For, in spite of their terrible roaring, you may, with half an eye, discover the ass under the lion's skin.

But to return to our discourse: Demosthenes being asked what was the first part of an orator, replied, action: what was the second, action: what was the third, action: and so on *ad infinitum*. This may be true in oratory; but contemplation, in other things, exceeds action. And therefore a wise man is never less alone, than when he is alone:

Nunquam minus solus, quam cùm solus.

And Archimedes, the famous mathematician, was so intent upon his problems, that he never minded the soldiers who came to kill him. Therefore, not to detract from the just praise which belongs to orators, they ought to consider that nature, which gave us two eyes to see, and two ears to hear, has given us but one tongue to speak; wherein however some do so abound, that the virtuosi, who have been so long in search for the perpetual motion, may infallibly find it there.

Some men admire republicks, because orators flourish there most, and are the greatest enemies of tyranny; but my opinion is, that one tyrant is better than a hundred. Besides, these orators inflame the people, whose anger is really but a short fit of madness,

Ira furor brevis est.—— HOR.

After which, laws are like cobwebs, which may catch small flies, but let wasps and hornets break through. But in oratory the greatest art is to hide art,

Artis est celare artem.

But this must be the work of time, we must lay hold on all opportunities, and let slip no occasion; else we shall be forced to weave Penelope's web, unravel in the night, what we spun in the day. And therefore I have observed, that time is painted with a lock before, and bald behind, signifying thereby, that we must take time (as we say) by the forelock, for when it is once past, there is no recalling it.

The mind of man is at first (if you will pardon the expression) like a *tabula rasa*, or like wax, which, while it is soft, is capable of any impression, till time has hardened it. And at length death, that grim tyrant, stops us in the midst of our career. The greatest conquerors have at last been conquered by death, which spares none, from the sceptre to the spade:

Mors omnibus communis.

All rivers go to the sea, but none return from it. Xerxes wept when he beheld his army, to consider that in less than a hundred years, they would be all dead. Anacreon was choked with a grapestone; and violent joy kills as well as violent grief. There is nothing in this world constant, but inconstancy; yet Plato thought, that if virtue would appear to the world in her own native dress, all men would be enamoured with her. But now, since interest governs the world, and men neglect the golden mean, Jupiter himself,

himself, if he came to the earth, would be despised, unless it were, as he did to Danae, in a golden shower: for men nowadays worship the rising sun, and not the setting:

Donec eris felix multos numerabis amicos.

Thus have I, in obedience to your commands, ventured to expose myself to censure, in this critical age. Whether I have done right to my subject, must be left to the judgment of my learned reader: however I cannot but hope, that my attempting of it, may be encouragement for some able pen, to perform it with more success.

# PREDICTIONS*

FOR

## THE YEAR 1708:

WHEREIN THE MONTH, AND THE DAY OF THE MONTH ARE SET DOWN, THE PERSONS NAMED, AND THE GREAT ACTIONS AND EVENTS OF NEXT YEAR PARTICULARLY RELATED, AS THEY WILL COME TO PASS.

WRITTEN TO PREVENT THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND FROM BEING FARTHER IMPOSED ON BY VULGAR ALMANACK-MAKERS.

By ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq.†

---

I HAVE considered the gross abuse of astrology in this kingdom, and upon debating the matter with myself, I could not possibly lay the fault upon the art, but upon those gross impostors, who set up to be the artists. I know several learned men have contended, that the whole is a cheat;

* This tract was burnt by the Inquisition in Portugal.

† Dr. Swift, when he had written these predictions, being at a loss what name to prefix to them, observed a sign over a house where a locksmith dwelt, and found the name of Bickerstaff written under it; which being a name somewhat uncommon, he chose to call himself Isaac Bickerstaff. The name was afterward adopted by Mr. Steele, as author of the Tatler.

that

that it is absurd and ridiculous to imagine, the stars can have any influence at all upon human actions, thoughts, or inclinations; and whoever has not bent his studies that way, may be excused for thinking so, when he sees in how wretched a manner that noble art is treated, by a few mean illiterate traders between us and the stars; who import a yearly stock of nonsense, lies, folly, and impertinence, which they offer to the world as genuine from the planets, though they descend from no greater a height than their own brains.

I intend, in a short time, to publish a large and rational defence of this art, and therefore shall say no more in its justification at present, than that it has been in all ages defended by many learned men, and among the rest by Socrates himself; whom I look upon as undoubtedly the wisest of uninspired mortals: to which if we add, that those who have condemned this art, though otherwise learned, having been such as either did not apply their studies this way, or at least did not succeed in their applications, their testimony will not be of much weight to its disadvantage, since they are liable to the common objection, of condemning what they did not understand.

Nor * am I at all offended, or * do I think it an injury to the art, when I see the common dealers in it, the students in astrology, the philo-

* In the use of these disjunctive particles, writers have been very inaccurate, using the negative in one part of the sentence, and the affirmative in the other, as in the above instance. '*Nor* am I at all offended, *or* do I think,' &c. It should be, '*nor* do I think,' &c. The affirmative should always be followed by an affirmative, the negative by a negative. It should be, *either, or*; *neither, nor*.

maths

maths, and the rest of that tribe, treated by wise men with the utmost scorn and contempt; but I rather wonder, when I observe gentlemen in the country, rich enough to serve the nation in parliament, poring in Partridge's almanack, to find out the events of the year, at home and abroad; not daring to propose a hunting match, till Gadbury * or he have fixed the weather.

I will allow either of the two I have mentioned, or any other of the fraternity, to be not only astrologers, but conjurers too, if I do not produce a hundred instances in all their almanacks, to convince any reasonable man, that they do not so much as understand common grammar and syntax; that they are not able to spell any word out of the usual road, nor, even in their prefaces, to write common sense, or intelligible English. Then, for their observations and predictions, they are such as will equally suit any age or country in the world, "This month a certain great person will be threat-"ened with death or sickness." This the newspapers will tell them; for there we find at the end of the year, that no month passes without the death of some person of note; and it would be hard, if it should be otherwise, when there are at least two thousand persons of note in this kingdom, many of them old, and the almanackmaker has

* John Gadbury, who was bred a tailor at Oxford, was enabled, by the instructions of Lilly, to set up the trade of almanackmaking and fortunetelling for himself. His pen was employed for many years on nativities, almanacks, and prodigies. He was living in 1690; and was thought to be alive for many years after his decease, as his name continued to be fixed to an almanack similar to that which was published in his lifetime. "The Black Life of John Gadbury" was written by Partridge.

the

the liberty of choosing the sickliest season of the year, where he may fix his prediction. Again, "this month an eminent clergyman will be pre-"ferred;" of which there may be many hundreds, half of them with one foot in the grave. Then, "such a planet in such a house shows great ma-"chinations, plots, and conspiracies, that may in "time be brought to light:" after which, if we hear of any discovery, the astrologer gets the honour; if not, his predictions still stand good. And at last, "God preserve king William from all his "open and secret enemies, Amen." When if the king should happen to have died, the astrologer plainly foretold it; otherwise it passes but for the pious ejaculation of a loyal subject: though it unluckily happened in some of their almanacks, that poor king William was prayed for many months after he was dead, because it fell out, that he died about the beginning of the year.

To mention no more of their impertinent predictions, what have we to do with their advertisements about "pills and drink for the venereal disease?" or their mutual quarrels in verse and prose of whig and tory, wherewith the stars have little to do?

Having long observed and lamented these, and a hundred other abuses of this art too tedious to repeat, I resolved to proceed in a new way, which I doubt not will be to the general satisfaction of the kingdom: I can this year produce but a specimen of what I design for the future; having employed most part of my time, in adjusting and correcting the calculations I made some years past, because I would offer nothing to the world, of which I am not as fully satisfied, as that I am now alive.

alive. For these two last years I have not failed in above one or two particulars, and those of no very great moment. I exactly foretold the miscarriage at Toulon, with all its particulars; and the loss of admiral Shovel *, though I was mistaken as to the day, placing that article about thirty-six hours sooner than it happened; but upon reviewing my schemes, I quickly found the cause of that errour. I likewise foretold the battle of Almanza † to the very day and hour, with the loss on both sides, and the consequences thereof. All which I showed to some friends many months before they happened; that is, I gave them papers sealed up, to open at such a time, after which they were at liberty to read them; and there they found my predictions true in every article, except one or two very minute.

As for the few following predictions I now offer the world, I forbore to publish them, till I had perused the several almanacks for the year we are now entered upon. I found them all in the usual strain, and I beg the reader will compare their manner with mine: and here I make bold to tell the world, that I lay the whole credit of my art upon the truth of these predictions; and I will be content, that Partridge, and the rest of his clan, may hoot me for a cheat and impostor, if I fail in any single particular of moment. I believe, any man who reads this paper, will look upon me to be at least a person of as much honesty and understanding, as a common maker of almanacks. I do not

* Sir Cloudesly Shovel's fleet was wrecked Oct. 22, 1710.

† The battle of Almanza was fought April 25, 1707.

lurk

lurk in the dark; I am not wholly unknown in the world; I have set my name at length to be a mark of infamy to mankind, if they shall find I deceive them.

In one thing I must desire to be forgiven, that I talk more sparingly of home affairs: It would be imprudence to discover secrets of state, so it might be dangerous to my person; but in smaller matters, and such as are not of publick consequence, I shall be very free: and the truth of my conjectures will as much appear from these as the other. As for the most signal events abroad in France, Flanders, Italy, and Spain, I shall make no scruple to predict them in plain terms: some of them are of importance, and I hope I shall seldom mistake the day they will happen; therefore, I think good to inform the reader, that I shall all along make use of the old style observed in England, which I desire he will compare with that of the newspapers, at the time they relate the actions I mention.

I must add one word more: I know it has been the opinion of several learned persons, who think well enough of the true art of astrology, that the stars do only incline, and not force the actions or wills of men: and therefore, however I may proceed by right rules, yet I cannot in prudence, so confidentially assure the events will follow exactly as I predict them.

I hope I have maturely considered this objection, which in some cases is of no little weight. For example: a man may, by the influence of an overruling planet, be disposed or inclined to lust, rage, or avarice, and yet by the force of reason overcome that evil influence; and this was the case of Socrates:

crates: but the great events of the world, usually depending upon numbers of men, it cannot be expected they should all unite to cross their inclinations, for pursuing a general design, wherein they unanimously agree. Besides, the influence of the stars reaches to many actions and events, which are not any way in the power of reason; as sickness, death, and what we commonly call accidents, with many more needless to repeat.

But now it is time to proceed to my predictions, which I have begun to calculate from the time that the sun enters into Aries. And this I take to be properly the beginning of the natural year. I pursue them to the time, that he enters Libra, or somewhat more, which is the busy period of the year. The remainder I have not yet adjusted, upon account of several impediments needless here to mention: besides, I must remind the reader again, that this is but a specimen of what I design in succeeding years to treat more at large, if I may have liberty and encouragement.

My first prediction is but a trifle, yet I will mention it, to show how ignorant those sottish pretenders to astrology are in their own concerns: it relates to Partridge the almanackmaker; I have consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules, and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next, about eleven at night, of a raging fever; therefore I advise him to consider of it, and settle his affairs in time.

The month of April will be observable for the death of many great persons. On the 4th will die the cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris: on the 11th the young prince of Asturias, son to the duke

duke of Anjou: on the 14th a great peer of this realm will die at his country house: on the 19th an old layman of great fame for learning: and on the 23d an eminent goldsmith in Lombard street. I could mention others, both at home and abroad, if I did not consider such events of very little use or instruction to the reader, or to the world.

As to publick affairs: on the 7th of this month there will be an insurrection in Dauphine, occasioned by the oppressions of the people, which will not be quieted in some months.

On the 15th will be a violent storm on the south-east coast of France, which will destroy many of their ships, and some in the very harbour.

The 19th will be famous for the revolt of a whole province or kingdom, excepting one city, by which the affairs of a certain prince in the alliance will take a better face.

May, against common conjectures, will be no very busy month in Europe, but very signal for the death of the dauphin, which will happen on the 7th, after a short fit of sickness and grievous torments with the strangury. He dies less lamented by the court than the kingdom.

On the 9th a mareschal of France will break his leg by a fall from his horse. I have not been able to discover whether he will then die or not.

On the 11th will begin a most important siege, which the eyes of all Europe will be upon: I cannot be more particular: for, in relating affairs that so nearly concern the confederates, and consequently this kingdom, I am forced to confine myself, for several reasons very obvious to the reader.

On the 15th news will arrive of a very surprising event, than which nothing can be more unexpected.

On the 19th three noble ladies of this kingdom will, against all expectation, prove with child, to the great joy of their husbands.

On the 23d a famous buffoon of the playhouse will die a ridiculous death, suitable to his vocation.

June. This month will be distinguished at home, by the utter dispersing of those ridiculous deluded enthusiasts, commonly called the prophets*; occasioned chiefly by seeing the time come, when many of their prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding themselves deceived by contrary events. It is indeed to be admired, how any deceiver can be so weak to foretel things near at hand, when a very few months must of necessity discover the imposture to all the world; in this point less prudent than common almanackmakers, who are so wise to wander in generals, and talk dubiously, and leave to the reader the business of interpreting.

On the first of this month a French General will be killed by a random shot of a cannon-ball.

* About this time there were some English and French jesuits from Rome, sent to Great Britain and Ireland, to divide and distract the people with enthusiastick principles of religion, in opposition to the established Church. These called themselves French prophets, pretended to inspiration, and deluded many people out of their money as well as reason; but were soon detected as impostors, and obliged to leave the kingdom upon their being found out to be jesuits in disguise. They occasioned several publications, in and about 1708, by sir Richard Bulkeley, Dr. Woodward, John Lacy esq., Mr. Henry Nicholson, and others.—Dr. Berkeley, afterward bishop of Cloyne, saw a jesuit at Rome, who acknowledged himself to have been one of these prophets.

On

On the 6th a fire will break out in the suburbs of Paris, which will destroy above a thousand houses; and seems to be the foreboding of what will happen, to the surprise of all Europe, about the end of the following month.

On the 10th a great battle will be fought, which will begin at four of the clock in the afternoon; and last till nine at night with great obstinacy, but no very decisive event. I shall not name the place, for the reasons aforesaid; but the commanders on each left wing will be killed.—I see bonfires, and hear the noise of guns for a victory.

On the 14th there will be a false report of the French king's death.

On the 20th cardinal Portocarero will die of a dysentery, with great suspicion of poison; but the report of his intention to revolt to king Charles will prove false.

July. The 6th of this month, a certain general will, by a glorious action, recover the reputation he lost by former misfortunes.

On the 12th a great commander will die a prisoner in the hands of his enemies.

On the 14th a shameful discovery will be made of a French jesuit, giving poison to a great foreign general; and when he is put to the torture, he will make wonderful discoveries.

In short this will prove a month of great action, if I might have liberty to relate the particulars.

At home the death of an old famous senator will happen on the 15th at his country house worn out with age and diseases.

But that which will make this month memorable to all posterity, is the death of the French king,

Lewis the Fourteenth, after a week's sickness at Marli, which will happen on the 29th, about six o'clock in the evening. It seems to be an effect of the gout in the stomach, followed by a flux. And in three days after monsieur Chamillard will follow his master, dying suddenly of an apoplexy.

In this month likewise an ambassador will die in London; but I cannot assign the day.

August. The affairs of France will seem to suffer no change for a while under the duke of Burgundy's administration; but the genius that animated the whole machine being gone, will be the cause of mighty turns and revolutions in the following year. The new king makes yet little change either in the the army or the ministry; but the libels against his grandfather, that fly about his very court, give him uneasiness.

I see an express in mighty haste, with joy and wonder in his looks, arriving by break of day on the 26th of this month, having travelled in three days a prodigious journey by land and sea. In the evening I hear bells and guns, and see the blazing of a thousand bonfires.

A young admiral of noble birth does likewise this month gain immortal honour by a great achievement.

The affairs of Poland are this month entirely settled: Augustus resigns his pretensions, which he had again taken up for some time; Stanislaus is peaceably possessed of the throne; and the king of Sweden declares for the emperor.

I cannot omit one particular accident here at home; that near the end of this month much mischief

chief will be done at Bartholomew fair, by the fall of a booth.

September. This month begins with a very surprising fit of frosty weather, which will last near twelve days.

The pope having long languished last month, the swellings in his legs breaking, and the flesh mortifying, will die on the 11th instant; and in three weeks time, after a mighty contest, be succeeded by a cardinal of the imperial faction, but a native of Tuscany, who is now about sixty-one years old.

The French army now acts wholly on the defensive, strongly fortified in their trenches; and the young French king sends overtures for a treaty of peace by the duke of Mantua; which, because it is a matter of state, that concerns us here at home, I shall speak no farther of.

I shall add but one prediction more, and that in mystical terms, which shall be included in a verse out of Virgil,

Alter erit jam Tethys, et altera quæ vehat Argo
Delectos heroas.

Upon the 25th day of this month, the fulfilling of this prediction will be manifest to every body.

This is the farthest I have proceeded in my calculations for the present year. I do not pretend, that these are all the great events, which will happen in this period, but that those I have set down will infallibly come to pass. It will perhaps still be objected, why I have not spoke more particularly of affairs at home, or of the success of our armies

abroad, which I might, and could very largely have done; but those in power have wisely discouraged men from meddling in publick concerns, and I was resolved by no means to give the least offence. This I will venture to say, that it will be a glorious campaign for the allies, wherein the English forces, both by sea and land, ſtill have their full share of honour: that her majesty queen Anne will continue in health and prosperity: and that no ill accident will arrive to any in the chief ministry.

As to the particular events I have mentioned, the reader may judge by the fulfilling of them, whether I am on the level with common astrologers; who, with an old paltry cant, and a few pothooks for planets to amuse the vulgar, have, in my opinion, too long been suffered to abuse the world: but an honest physician ought not to be despised, because there are such things as mountebanks. I hope I have some share of reputation, which I would not willingly forfeit for a frolick or humour: and I believe no gentleman who reads this paper, will look upon it to be of the same cast or mould with the common scribbles, that are every day hawked about. My fortune has placed me above the little regard of writing for a few pence, which I neither value or want *: therefore let not wise men too hastily condemn this essay, intended for a good design, to cultivate and improve an ancient art, long in disgrace by having fallen into mean unskilful hands. A little time will determine

* 'Which I *neither* value, *or* want'. Here the disjunctive negative, *neither*, is followed by the affirmative, *or*; which is improper. It should be, 'which I neither value, *nor* want.'

whether

whether I have deceived others or myself: and I think it no very unreasonable request, that men would please to suspend their judgments till then. I was once of the opinion with those, who despise all predictions from the stars, till the year 1686, a man of quality showed me, written in his *album**, that the most learned astronomer, captain Halley, assured him, he would never believe any thing of the stars influence, if there were not a great revolution in England in the year 1688. Since that time I began to have other thoughts, and after eighteen years diligent study and application, I think I have no reason to repent of my pains. I shall detain the reader no longer, than to let him know, that the account I design to give of next year's events, shall take in the principal affairs that happen in Europe; and if I be denied the liberty of offering it to my own country, I shall appeal to the learned world, by publishing it in Latin, and giving order to have it printed in Holland.

* *Album*, is the name of a paper book, in which it was usual for a man's friends to write down a sentence with their names, to keep them in his remembrance; it is still common in some of the foreign universities.

# AN ANSWER

TO

# BICKERSTAFF.

SOME REFLECTIONS UPON MR. BICKERSTAFF'S PREDICTIONS FOR THE YEAR MDCCVIII.

BY A PERSON OF QUALITY.

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I HAVE not observed, for some years past, any insignificant paper to have made more noise, or be more greedily bought, than that of these predictions. They are the wonder of the common people, an amusement for the better sort, and a jest only to the wise: yet, among these last, I have heard some very much in doubt, whether the author meant to deceive others, or is deceived himself. Whoever he was, he seems to have with great art adjusted his paper both to please the rabble, and to entertain persons of condition. The writer is, without question, a gentleman of wit and learning, although the piece seems hastily written in a sudden frolick, with the scornful thought of the pleasure he will have, in putting this great town into a wonderment about nothing: nor do I doubt but he, and his friends in the secret, laugh often and plentifully in a corner, to reflect how many

many hundred thousand fools they have already made. And he has them fast for some time: for so they are likely to continue until his prophecies begin to fail in the events. Nay, it is a great question whether the miscarriage of the two or three first, will so entirely undeceive people, as to hinder them from expecting the accomplishment of the rest. I doubt not but some thousands of these papers are carefully preserved by as many persons, to confront with the events, and try whether the astrologer exactly keeps the day and hour. And these I take to be Mr. Bickerstaff's choicest cullies, for whose sake chiefly he writ his amusement. Meanwhile he has seven weeks good, during which time the world is to be kept in suspense; for it is so long before the almanackmaker is to die, which is the first prediction: and, if that fellow happens to be a splenetick visionary fop, or has any faith in his own art, the prophecy may punctually come to pass, by very natural means. As a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was ill used by a mercer in town, wrote him a letter in an unknown hand, to give him notice that care had been taken to convey a slow poison into his drink, which would infallibly kill him in a month; after which, the man began in earnest to languish and decay, by the mere strength of imagination, and would certainly have died, if care had not been taken to undeceive him, before the jest went too far. The like effect upon Partridge would wonderfully rise Mr. Bickerstaff's reputation for a fortnight longer, until we could hear from France, whether the cardinal de Noailles were dead or alive upon the fourth of April, which is the second of his predictions.

For

For a piece so carelessly written, the observations upon astrology are reasonable and pertinent, the remarks just; and as the paper is partly designed, in my opinion, for a satire upon the credulity of the vulgar, and that idle itch of peeping into futurities, so it is no more than what we all of us deserve. And, since we must be teased with perpetual hawkers of strange and wonderful things, I am glad to see a man of sense, find leisure and humour to take up the trade, for his own and our diversion. To speak in the town phrase, it is a bite; he has fully had his jest, and may be satisfied.

I very much approve the serious air he gives himself in his introduction and conclusion, which has gone far to give some people, of no mean rank, an opinion that the author believes himself. He tells us, "He places the whole credit of his art "on the truth of these predictions, and will be "content to be hooted by Partridge and the rest "for a cheat, if he fails in any one particular;" with several other strains of the same kind, wherein I perfectly believe him; and that he is very indifferent whether Isaac Bickerstaff be a mark of infamy or not. But it seems, although he has joined an odd surname, to no very common Christian one, that in this large town there is a man found to own both the names, although, I believe, not the paper.

I believe it is no small mortification to this gentleman astrologer, as well as his bookseller, to find their piece, which they sent out in a tolerable print and paper, immediately seized on by three or four interloping printers of Grub street, the title stuffed with an abstract of the whole matter, together with the

the standard epithets of strange and wonderful, the price brought down a full half, which was but a penny in its prime, and bawled about by hawkers of the inferiour class, with the concluding cadence of a halfpenny apiece. But *sic cecidit Phaeton:* and, to comfort him a little, this production of mine will have the same fate: tomorrow will my ears be grated by the little boys and wenches in straw hats; and I must a hundred times undergo the mortification to have my own work offered me to sale at an under value. Then, which is a great deal worse, my acquaintance in the coffeehouse will ask me whether I have seen the *Answer to 'squire Bickerstaff's Predictions*, and whether I knew the puppy that writ it: and how to keep a man's countenance in such a juncture, is no easy point of conduct. When, in this case, you see a man shy either in praising or condemning, ready to turn off the discourse to another subject, standing as little in the light as he can to hide his blushing, pretending to sneeze, or take snuff, or go off as if sudden business called him; then ply him close, observe his look narrowly, see whether his speech be constrained or affected, then charge him suddenly, or whisper and smile, and you will soon discover whether he be guilty. Although this seem not to the purpose I am discoursing on, yet I think it to be so; for I am much deceived if I do not know the true author of Bickerstaff's Predictions, and did not meet with him some days ago in a coffeehouse at Covent Garden.

As to the matter of the predictions themselves, I shall not enter upon the examination of them; but think it very incumbent upon the learned Mr. Partridge to take them into his consideration, and lay

as many errours in astrology as possible to Mr. Bickerstaff's account. He may justly, I think, challenge the 'squire to publish the calculation he has made of Partridge's nativity, by the credit of which, he so determinately pronounces the time and the manner of his death; and Mr. Bickerstaff can do no less, in honour, than give Mr. Partridge the same advantage of calculating his, by sending him an account of the time and place of his birth, with other particulars necessary for such a work. By which, no doubt, the learned world will be engaged in the dispute, and take part on each side according as they are inclined.

I should likewise advise Mr. Partridge to inquire, why Mr. Bickerstaff does not so much as offer at one prediction to be fulfilled, until two months after the time of publishing his paper. This looks a little suspicious, as if he were desirous to keep the world in play as long as he decently could; else it were hard he could not afford us one prediction between this and the 29th of March; which is not so fair dealings as we have even from Mr. Partridge and his brethren, who give us their predictions (such as they are indeed) for every month in the year.

There is one passage in Mr. Bickerstaff's paper, that seems to be as high a strain of assurance, as I have any where met with. It is that prediction for the month of June, which relates to the French prophets here in town; where he tells us, "They will utterly "disperse, by seeing the time come, wherein their "prophecies should be fulfilled, and then finding "themselves deceived by contrary events." Upon which, he adds, with great reason, "his wonder "how

" how any deceiver can be so weak, to foretel things " near at hand, when a very few months must dis- " cover the imposture to all the world." This is spoken with a great deal of affected unconcernedness, as if he would have us think himself to be not under the least apprehension, that the same in two months will be his own case. With respect to the gentleman, I do not remember to have heard of so refined and pleasant a piece of impudence; which I hope the author will not resent as an uncivil word, because I am sure I enter into his taste, and take it as he meant it. However, he half deserves a reprimand, for writing with so much scorn and contempt for the understandings of the majority.

For the month of July, he tells us " of a ge- " neral, who, by a glorious action, will recover the " reputation he lost by former misfortunes." This is commonly understood to be lord Galloway; who if he be already dead, as some newspapers have it, Mr. Bickerstaff has made a trip. But this I do not much insist on; for it is hard if another general cannot be found under the same circumstances, to whom this prediction may be as well applied.

The French king's death is very punctually related; but it was unfortunate to make him die at Marli, where he never goes at that season of the year, as I observed myself during three years I passed in that kingdom: and, discoursing some months ago with monsieur Tallard, about the French court, I find that king never goes to Marli for any time, but about the season of hunting there, which is not till August. So that there was an unlucky slip of Mr. Bickerstaff, for want of foreign education.

He

He concludes with resuming his promise, of publishing entire predictions for next year; of which the other astrologers need not be in very much pain. I suppose we shall have them much about the same time with *The General History of Ears*. I believe we have done with him for ever in this kind; and though I am no astrologer, may venture to prophesy that Isaac Bickerstaff esq. is now dead, and died just at the time his predictions were ready for the press: that he dropped out of the clouds about nine days ago, and, in about four hours after, mounted up thither again like a vapour; and will, one day or other, perhaps, descend a second time, when he has some new, agreeable, or amusing whimsey to pass upon the town; wherein, it is very probable, he will succeed as often as he is disposed to try the experiment; that is, as long as he can preserve a thorough contempt for his own time, and other people's understandings, and is resolved not to laugh cheaper than at the expense of a million of people.

THE

THE

# ACCOMPLISHMENT

OF THE FIRST OF

# MR. BICKERSTAFF'S PREDICTIONS;

BEING

# AN ACCOUNT

OF THE DEATH OF

MR. PARTRIDGE, THE ALMANACKMAKER,

UPON THE 29TH INSTANT.

IN A LETTER TO A PERSON OF HONOUR.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1708.

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IN obedience to your lordship's commands, as well as to satisfy my own curiosity, I have some days past inquired constantly after Partridge the almanack-maker, of whom it was foretold in Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions, published about a month ago, that he should die the 29th instant about eleven at night of a raging fever. I had some sort of knowledge of him, when I was employed in the revenue, because he used every year to present me with his almanack, as he did other gentlemen, upon the score of some little gratuity we gave him. I saw him accidentally once or twice about ten days before he died, and observed he began very much to droop and

and languish, though I hear, his friends did not seem to apprehend him in any danger. About two or three days ago he grew ill, was confined first to his chamber, and in a few hours after to his bed, where Dr. Case*, and Mrs. Kirleus† were sent for to visit, and to prescribe to him. Upon this intelligence, I sent thrice every day one ser-

* John Case was many years a noted practitioner in physick and astrology. He was looked upon as the successor of Lilly and of Safford, and possessed the magical utensils of both. He erased the verses of his predecessor from the sign post, and substituted in their stead this distich, by which he is said to have got more than Dryden did by all his works,

" Within this place
" Lives doctor Case ;"

and was doubtless very well paid for composing that which he affixed to his pill boxes,

" Here's fourteen pills for thirteen pence ;
" Enough in any man's own con-sci-ence."

He published, in 1697, one of the most profound astrological pieces the world ever saw, called, " The Angelical Guide, showing " men and women their chance in this elementary life," in four books. The diagrams in this work would probably have puzzled Euclid, though he had studied astrology.—From the mention made of him by Swift, he appears to have been living in 1708. When Tutchin published his Observations, the doctor used frequently to advertise himself at the end of that paper, beginning in this formal manner : " Your old physician Dr. Case desires you not to forget him," &c. In some of his bills, he told the publick,

" At the Golden Ball and Lilly's Head,
" John Case lives, though Safford's dead.

† Mary Kirleus, widow of John Kirleus, son of Dr. Thomas Kirleus, a collegiate physician of London, and sworn physician in ordinary to king Charles II, was a constant advertiser in the Observator, and " dealt with all persons according to their abilities."

vant

vant or other to inquire after his health; and yesterday, about four in the afternoon, word was brought me, that he was past hopes: upon which I prevailed with myself to go and see him, partly out of commiseration, and I confess, partly out of curiosity. He knew me very well, seemed surprised at my condescension, and made me compliments upon it, as well as he could in the condition he was. The people about him said, he had been for some time delirious; but when I saw him, he had his understanding as well as ever I knew, and spoke strong and hearty, without any seeming uneasiness or constraint. After I had told him how sorry I was to see him in those melancholy circumstances, and said some other civilities, suitable to the occasion, I desired him to tell me freely and ingenuously, whether the predictions Mr. Bickerstaff had published relating to his death, had not too much affected and worked on his imagination. He confessed, he had often had it in his head, but never with much apprehension, till about a fortnight before; since which time it had the perpetual possession of his mind and thoughts, and he did verily believe was the true natural cause of his present distemper: for, said he, I am thoroughly persuaded, and I think I have very good reasons, that Mr. Bickerstaff spoke altogether by guess, and knew no more what will happen this year, than I did myself. I told him his discourse surprised me; and I would* be glad

* *Would*, is here improperly used; it ought to be, 'and I *should* be glad,' &c.

he were in a state of health to be able to tell me, what reason he had to be convinced of Mr. Bickerstaff's ignorance. He replied, I am a poor ignorant fellow, bred to a mean trade, yet I have sense enough to know, that all pretences of foretelling by astrology are deceits, for this manifest reason; because the wise and the learned, who can only judge whether there be any truth in this science, do all unanimously agree to laugh at and despise it; and none but the poor ignorant vulgar give it any credit, and that only upon the word of such silly wretches as I and my fellows, who can hardly write or read. I then asked him, why he had not calculated his own nativity, to see whether it agreed with Bickerstaff's prediction? at which he shook his head, and said, oh! sir, this is no time for jesting, but for repenting those fooleries, as I do now from the very bottom of my heart. By what I can gather from you, said I, the observations and predictions you printed with your almanacks, were mere impositions on the people. He replied, if it were otherwise, I should have the less to answer for. We have a common form for all those things; as to foretelling the weather, we never meddle with that, but leave it to the printer, who takes it out of any old almanack, as he thinks fit; the rest was my own invention to make my almanack sell, having a wife to maintain, and no other way to get my bread; for mending old shoes is a poor livelihood; and (added he, sighing) I wish I may not have done more mischief by my physick, than my astrology; though I had some good receipts

ceipts from my grandmother, and my own compositions were such, as I thought could at least do no hurt.

I had some other discourse with him, which now I cannot call to mind; and I fear have already tired your lordship. I shall only add one circumstance, that on his deathbed he declared himself a nonconformist, and had a fanatick preacher to be his spiritual guide. After half an hour's conversation I took my leave, being almost stifled by the closeness of the room. I imagined he could not hold out long, and therefore withdrew to a little coffeehouse hard by, leaving a servant at the house, with orders to come immediately and tell me, as near as he could the minute when Partridge should expire, which was not above two hours after; when looking upon my watch, I found it to be above five minutes after seven; by which it is clear that Mr. Bickerstaff was mistaken almost four hours in his calculation. In the other circumstances he was exact enough. But whether he has not been the cause of this poor man's death, as well as the predictor, may be very reasonably disputed*. However, it must be confessed, the matter is odd enough, whether we should endeavour to account for it by chance, or the effect of imagination: for my own part, though I believe no man has less faith in these matters, yet I shall wait with some impatience, and not

* The words in this sentence are ill arranged; it would be better thus—'But whether he has not been the cause, as well as the predictor, of this poor man's death, may very reasonably be disputed.'

without some expectation, the fulfilling of Mr. Bickerstaff's second prediction, that the cardinal de Noailles is to die upon the fourth of April; and if that should be verified as exactly as this of poor Partridge, I must own I should be wholly surprised, and at a loss, and should infallibly expect the accomplishment of all the rest.

[This

[This piece being on the same subject, and very rare, we have thought fit to add it, though not written by the same hand.]

N. B. In the Dublin edition it is said to be written by the late N. Rowe esq. which is a mistake: for the reverend Dr. Yalden, preacher of Bridewell, Mr. Partridge's near neighbour, drew it up for him.

# 'SQUIRE BICKERSTAFF DETECTED;

OR, THE

# ASTROLOGICAL IMPOSTOR CONVICTED:

BY

## JOHN PARTRIDGE,

STUDENT IN PHYSICK AND ASTROLOGY.

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It is hard, my dear countrymen of these united nations, it is very hard, that a Briton born, a protestant astrologer, a man of revolution principles, an assertor of the liberty and property of the people, should cry out in vain for justice against a Frenchman, a papist, and an illiterate pretender to science, that would blast my reputation, most inhumanly bury me alive, and defraud my native country of those services, which in my double capacity, I daily offer the publick.

What great provocations I have received, let the impartial reader judge, and how unwillingly, even

in my own defence, I now enter the lists against falsehood, ignorance, and envy: but I am exasperated, at length, to drag out this Cacus from the den of obscurity where he lurks, detect him by the light of those stars he has so impudently traduced, and show there is not a monster in the skies so pernicious and malevolent to mankind, as an ignorant pretender to physick and astrology. I shall not directly fall on the many gross errours, nor expose the notorious absurdities of this prostitute libeller, till I have let the learned world fairly into the controversy depending, and then leave the unprejudiced to judge of the merits and justice of my cause.

It was toward the conclusion of the year 1707, when an impudent pamphlet crept into the world, entitled, *Predictions, &c. by Isaac Bickerstaff Esq.* among the many arrogant assertions laid down by that lying spirit of divination, he was pleased to pitch on the cardinal de Noailles and myself, among many other eminent and illustrious persons, that were to die within the compass of the ensuing year; and peremptorily fixes the month, day, and hour of our deaths: this, I think, is sporting with great men, and publick spirits, to the scandal of religion, and reproach of power; and if sovereign princes and astrologers must make diversion for the vulgar—why then farewel, say I, to all governments, ecclesiastical and civil. But, I thank my better stars, I am alive to confront this false and audacious predictor, and to make him rue the hour he ever affronted a man of science and resentment. The cardinal may take what measures he pleases with him; as his excellency is a foreigner, and a papist, he has no reason to rely on me for his justification;

fication; I shall only assure the world he is alive: —— but as he was bred to letters, and is master of a pen, let him use it in his own defence. In the mean time I shall present the publick with a faithful narrative of the ungenerous treatment and hard usage I have received, from the virulent papers, and malicious practices, of this pretended astrologer.

*A true and impartial account of the proceedings of* ISAAC BICKERSTAFF *Esq. against me.*

The 28th of March, *anno Dom.* 1708, being the night this sham prophet had so impudently fixed for my last, which made little impression on myself; but I cannot answer for my whole family; for my wife, with concern more than usual, prevailed on me to take somewhat to sweat for a cold; and, between the hours of eight and nine, to go to bed: the maid, as she was warming my bed, with a curiosity natural to young wenches, runs to the window, and asks of one passing the street, who the bell tolled for? Dr. Partridge, says he, the famous almanackmaker, who died suddenly this evening: the poor girl provoked told him, he lied like a rascal; the other very sedately replied, the sexton had so informed him; and if false, he was to blame for imposing upon a stranger. She asked a second, and a third, as they passed, and every one was in the same tone. Now, I do not say these are accomplices to a certain astrological 'squire, and that one Bickerstaff might be sauntering thereabout, because I will assert nothing here, but what I dare attest for plain matter of fact. My wife at this

fell into a violent disorder; and I must own I was a little discomposed at the oddness of the accident. In the mean time one knocks at my door; Betty runs down, and opening, finds a sober grave person, who modestly inquires, if this was Dr. Partridge's? she taking him for some cautious city patient, that came at that time for privacy, shows him into the diningroom. As soon as I could compose myself, I went to him, and was surprised to find my gentleman mounted on a table with a two-foot rule in his hand, measuring my walls, and taking the dimensions of the room. Pray, sir, says I, not to interrupt you, have you any business with me? only, sir, replies he, order the girl to bring me a better light, for this is but a very dim one. Sir, says I, my name is Partridge: O! the doctor's brother, belike, cries he; the staircase, I believe, and these two apartments hung in close mourning, will be sufficient, and only a strip of bays round the other rooms. The doctor must needs die rich, he had great dealings in his way for many years; if he had no family coat, you had as good use the escutcheons of the company, they are as showish, and will look as magnificent, as if he was descended from the blood-royal. With that I assumed a greater air of authority, and demanded who employed him, or how he came there? Why, I was sent, sir, by the company of undertakers, says he, and they were employed by the honest gentleman, who is executor to the good doctor departed; and our rascally porter, I believe, is fallen fast asleep with the black cloth and sconces, or he had been here, and we might have been tacking up by this time. Sir, says I, pray be advised by

by a friend, and make the best of your speed out of my doors, for I hear my wife's voice, (which by the by, is pretty distinguishable) and in that corner of the room stands a good cudgel, which somebody has felt before now; if that light in her hands, and she know the business you come about, without consulting the stars, I can assure you it will be employed very much to the detriment of your person. Sir, cries he, bowing with great civility, I perceive extreme grief for the loss of the doctor disorders you a little at present, but early in the morning I will wait on you with all the necessary materials. Now I mention no Mr. Bickerstaff; nor do I say, that a certain star-gazing 'squire has been playing my executor before his time; but I leave the world to judge, and he that puts things and things fairly together, will not be much wide of the mark.

Well, once more I got my doors closed, and prepared for bed in hopes of a little repose after so many ruffling adventures; just as I was putting out my light in order to it, another bounces as hard as he can knock; I open the window, and ask who is there, and what he wants? I am Ned the sexton, replies he, and come to know whether the doctor left any orders for a funeral sermon, and where he is to be laid, and whether his grave is to be plain or bricked? Why, sirrah, says I, you know me well enough; you know I am not dead, and how dare you affront me after this manner? Alackaday, sir, replies the fellow, why it is in print, and the whole town knows you are dead; why, there is Mr. White the joiner is but fitting screws to your coffin, he will be here with it in an instant: he

was

was afraid you would have wanted it before this time. Sirrah, sirrah, says I, you shall know to-morrow to your cost, that I am alive, and alive like to be. Why, it is strange, sir, says he, you should make such a secret of your death to us that are your neighbours; it looks as if you had a design to defraud the church of its dues; and let me tell you, for one that has lived so long by the heavens, that is unhandsomely done. Hist, hist, says another rogue that stood by him; away, doctor, into your flannel gear as fast as you can, for here is a whole pack of dismals coming to you with their black equipage, and how indecent will it look for you to stand frighting folks at your window, when you should have been in your coffin this three hours? In short, what with undertakers, embalmers, joiners, sextons, and your damned elegy hawkers upon a late practitioner in physick and astrology, I got not one wink of sleep that night, nor scarce a moment's rest ever since. Now I doubt not but this villanous squire has the impudence to assert, that these are entirely strangers to him; he, good man, knows nothing of the matter, and honest Isaac Bickerstaff, I warrant you, is more a man of honour, than to be an accomplice with a pack of rascals, that walk the streets on nights, and disturb good people in their beds; but he is out, if he thinks the whole world is blind; for there is one John Partridge can smell a knave as far as Grub street,—although he lies in the most exalted garret, and writes himself 'squire:—but I will keep my temper, and proceed in the narration.

I could not stir out of doors for the space of three

three months after this, but presently one comes up to me in the street; Mr. Partridge, that coffin you was last buried in, I have not been yet paid for: doctor, cries another dog, how do you think people can live by making of graves for nothing? next time you die, you may even toll out the bell yourself for Ned. A third rogue tips me by the elbow, and wonders, how I have the conscience to sneak abroad without paying my funeral expenses. Lord, says one, I durst have swore that was honest Dr. Partridge, my old friend; but, poor man, he is gone. I beg your pardon, says another, you look so like my old acquaintance, that I used to consult on some private occasions: but, alack, he is gone the way of all flesh——Look, look, look, cries a third, after a competent space of staring at me, would not one think our neighbour the almanack-maker was crept out of his grave, to take the other peep at the stars in this world, and show how much he is improved in fortunetelling, by having taken a journey to the other?

Nay, the very reader of our parish, a good, sober, discreet person, has sent two or three times for me to come and be buried decently, or send him sufficient reasons to the contrary; or, if I have been interred in any other parish, to produce my certificate, as the act* requires. My poor wife is run almost distracted with being called widow Partridge, when she knows it is false; and once a term she is cited into the court to take out letters of administration.

* The statute of 30 Car. II for burying in woollen requires, that oath shall be made of the compliance with this act, and a certificate thereof lodged with the minister of the parish within eight days after interment.

But

But the greatest grievance is, a paltry quack, that takes up my calling just under my nose, and in his printed directions with N. B. ☞ says, he lives in the house of the late ingenious Mr. John Partridge, an eminent practitioner in leather, physick, and astrology.

But to show how far the wicked spirit of envy, malice and resentment can hurry some men, my nameless old persecutor had provided me a monument at the stonecutter's, and would have erected it in the parish church; and this piece of notorious and expensive villany had actually succeeded, if I had not used my utmost interest with the vestry, where it was carried at last but by two voices, that I am alive. That stratagem failing, out comes a long sable elegy, bedecked with hourglasses, mattocks, sculls, spades, and skeletons, with an epitaph as confidently written to abuse me and my profession, as if I had been under ground these twenty years.

And after such barbarous treatment as this, can the world blame me, when I ask, what is become of the freedom of an Englishman? and where is the liberty and property, that my old glorious friend came over to assert? we have drove popery out of the nation, and sent slavery to foreign climes. The arts only remain in bondage, when a man of science and character shall be openly insulted, in the midst of the many useful services he is daily paying the publick. Was it ever heard, even in Turkey or Algiers, that a state astrologer was bantered out of his life by an ignorant impostor, or bawled out of the world by a pack of villanous, deep-mouthed hawkers? though I print almanacks, and

and publish advertisements; though I produce certificates under the ministers and churchwardens hands I am alive, and attest the same on oath at quarter sessions, out comes a full and true relation of the death and interment of John Partridge; truth is bore down, attestations neglected, the testimony of sober persons despised, and a man is looked upon by his neighbours as if he had been seven years dead, and is buried alive in the midst of his friends and acquaintance.

Now can any man of common sense think it consistent with the honour of my profession, and not much beneath the dignity of a philosopher, to stand bawling before his own door?—alive! alive! ho! the famous Dr. Partridge! no counterfeit, but all alive!——as if I had the twelve celestial monsters of the zodiack to show within, or was forced for a livelihood to turn retailer to May and Bartholomew fairs. Therefore, if her Majesty would but graciously be pleased to think a hardship of this nature worthy her royal consideration, and the next parliament, in their great wisdom, cast but an eye toward the deplorable case of their old philomath, that annually bestows his good wishes on them, I am sure there is one Isaac Bickerstaff Esq. would soon be trussed up for his bloody predictions, and putting good subjects in terrour of their lives: and that henceforward to murder a man by way of prophecy, and bury him in a printed letter, either to a lord or commoner, shall as legally entitle him to the present possession of Tyburn, as if he robbed on the highway, or cut your throat in bed.

I shall demonstrate to the judicious, that France and

and Rome are at the bottom of this horrid conspiracy against me; and that culprit aforesaid is a popish emissary, has paid his visits to St. Germain's, and is now in the measures of Lewis XIV. That, in attempting my reputation, there is a general massacre of learning designed in these realms: and through my sides there is a wound given to all the protestant almanackmakers in the universe.

VIVAT REGINA.

A VINDI-

A

# VINDICATION

OF

ISAAC BICKERSTAFF Esq.

AGAINST

WHAT IS OBJECTED TO HIM BY MR. PARTRIDGE IN HIS ALMANACK FOR THE PRESENT YEAR 1709.

BY THE SAID ISAAC BICKERSTAFF Esq.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1709.

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MR. PARTRIDGE has been lately pleased to treat me after a very rough manner, in that which is called his Almanack for the present year: such usage is very indecent from one gentleman to another, and does not at all contribute to the discovery of truth, which ought to be the great end in all disputes of the learned. To call a man a fool and villain, an impudent fellow, only for differing from him in a point merely speculative, is, in my humble opinion, a very improper style for a person of his education. I appeal to the learned world, whether, in my last year's predictions, I gave him the least provocation for such unworthy treatment. Philosophers have differed in all ages; but the discreetest among them have always differed as became philosophers.

Scurrility

Scurrility and passion, in a controversy among scholars, is just so much of nothing to the purpose, and at best a tacit confession of a weak cause: my concern is not so much for my own reputation, as that of the republick of letters, which Mr. Partridge has endeavoured to wound through my sides. If men of publick spirit must be superciliously treated for their ingenious attempts, how will true useful knowledge be ever advanced? I wish Mr. Partridge knew thet houghts, which foreign universities have conceived of his ungenerous proceedings with me; but I am too tender of his reputation to publish them to the world. That spirit of envy and pride, which blasts so many rising geniuses in our nation, is yet unknown among professors abroad: the necessity of justifying myself will excuse my vanity, when I tell the reader, that I have near a hundred honorary letters from several parts of Europe (some as far as Muscovy) in praise of my performance. Beside several others, which, as I have been credibly informed, were opened in the postoffice, and never sent me. It is true, the inquisition in Portugal was pleased to burn my predictions *, and condemn the author and the readers of them: but I hope at the same time, it will be considered, in how deplorable a state learning lies at present in that kingdom: and with the profoundest veneration for crowned heads, I will presume to add, that it a little concerned his majesty of Portugal to interpose his authority in behalf of a scholar and a

* This is fact, as the author was assured by sir Paul Methuen, then ambassador to that crown.

gentle

gentleman, the subject of a nation, with which he is now in so strict an alliance. But the other kingdoms and states of Europe have treated me with more candour and generosity. If I had leave to print the Latin letters transmitted to me from foreign parts, they would fill a volume, and be a full defence against all that Mr. Partridge, or his accomplices of the Portugal inquisition, will be ever able to object; who, by the way, are the only enemies my predictions have ever met with at home or abroad. But I hope I know better what is due to the honour of a learned correspondence, in so tender a point. Yet some of those illustrious persons will perhaps excuse me, for transcribing a passage or two in my vindication*. The most learned monsieur Leibnitz thus addresses to me his third letter: *illustrissimo Bickerstaffio astrologiæ instauratori,* &c. Monsieur le Clerc, quoting my Predictions in a treatise he published last year, is pleased to say, *ita nuperrimè Bickerstaffius magnum illud Angliæ sidus.* Another great professor writing of me, has these words: *Bickerstaffius, nobilis Anglus, astrologorum hujusce sæculi facile princeps.* Signior Magliabecchi, the great duke's famous library keeper, spends almost his whole letter in compliments and praises. It is true, the renowned professor of astronomy at Utrecht seemed to differ from me in one article; but it is after the modest manner that becomes a philosopher; as, *pace tanti viri dixerim:* and page 55, he seems to lay the errour upon the printer, (as indeed it ought) and says,

* The quotations here inserted are in imitation of Dr. Bentley, in some part of the famous controversy between him and Mr. Boyle.

*vel forsan error typographi, cum alioquin Bickerstaffius vir doctissimus*, &c.

If Mr. Partridge had followed these examples in the controversy between us, he might have spared me the trouble of justifying myself in so publick a manner. I believe no man is readier to own his errours than I, or more thankful to those who will please to inform him of them. But it seems, this gentleman, instead of encouraging the progress of his own art, is pleased to look upon all attempts of that kind, as an invasion of his province. He has been indeed so wise as to make no objection against the truth of my predictions, except in one single point relating to himself: and to demonstrate how much men are blinded by their own partiality, I do solemnly assure the reader, that he is the only person, from whom I ever heard that objection offered; which consideration alone, I think, will take off all its weight.

With my utmost endeavours I have not been able to trace above two objections ever made against the truth of my last year's prophecies: the first was, of a Frenchman, who was pleased to publish to the world, "that the cardinal de Noailles was still "alive, notwithstanding the pretended prophecy of "monsieur Biquerstaffe:" but how far a Frenchman, a papist, and an enemy, is to be believed in his own cause, against an English protestant, who is true to the government, I shall leave to the candid and impartial reader.

The other objection, is the unhappy occasion of this discourse, and relates to an article in my Predictions, which foretold the death of Mr. Partridge to happen on March 29, 1708. This he is pleased

to contradict absolutely in the almanack he has published for the present year and in that ungentlemanly manner (pardon the expression) as I have above related. In that work he very roundly asserts, that he " is not only now alive, but was " likewise alive upon that very 29th of March, " when I had foretold he should die." This is the subject of the present controversy between us; which I design to handle with all brevity, perspicuity, and calmness. In this dispute, I am sensible the eyes not only of England, but of all Europe, will be upon us; and the learned in every country, will, I doubt not, take part on that side, where they find most appearance of reason and truth.

Without entering into criticisms of chronology about the hour of his death, I shall only prove that Mr. Partridge is not alive. And my first argument is this: about a thousand gentlemen having bought his almanacks for this year, merely to find what he said against me, at every line they read, they would lift up their eyes, and cry out, betwixt rage and laughter, " they were sure no man alive " ever writ such damned stuff as this." Neither did I ever hear that opinion disputed; so that Mr. Partridge lies under a dilemma, either of disowning his almanack, or allowing himself to be no man alive. Secondly, Death is defined by all philosophers, a separation of the soul and body. Now it is certain, that the poor woman, who has best reason to know, has gone about for some time to every alley in the neighbourhood, and sworn to the gossips, that her husband had neither life nor soul in him. Therefore, if an uninformed carcase walks

still about, and is pleased to call itself Partridge, Mr. Bickerstaff does not think himself any way answerable for that. Neither had the said carcase any right to beat the poor boy, who happened to pass by it in the street, crying, "a full and true account of Dr. Partridge's death," *&c.*

Thirdly, Mr. Partridge pretends to tell fortunes, and recover stolen goods; which all the parish says, he must do by conversing with the devil, and other evil spirits: and no wise man will ever allow, he could converse personally with either, till after he was dead.

Fourthly, I will plainly prove him to be dead, out of his own almanack for this year, and from the very passage, which he produces to make us think him alive. He there says, "he is not only "now alive, but was also alive upon that very "29th of March, which I foretold he should die "on:" by this, he declares his opinion, that a man may be alive now, who was not alive a twelve-month ago. And indeed, there lies the sophistry of his argument. He dares not assert he was alive ever since that 29th of March, but that he "is now "alive, and was so on that day:" I grant the latter; for he did not die till night, as appears by the printed account of his death, in a Letter to a Lord; and whether he be since revived, I leave the world to judge. This indeed is perfect cavilling, and I am ashamed to dwell any longer upon it.

Fifthly, I will appeal to Mr. Partridge himself, whether it be probable I could have been so indiscreet, to begin my predictions with the only falsehood, that ever was pretended to be in them; and this in an affair at home, where I had so many opportunities

opportunities to be exact; and must have given such advantages against me to a person of Mr. Partridge's wit and learning, who, if he could possibly have raised one single objection more against the truth of my prophecies, would hardly have spared me.

And here I must take occasion to reprove the abovementioned writer of the relation of Mr. Partridge's death, in a Letter to a Lord; who was pleased to tax me with a mistake of four whole hours in my calculation of that event. I must confess, this censure pronounced with an air of certainty, in a matter that so nearly concerned me, and by a grave judicious author, moved me not a little. But though I was at that time out of town, yet several of my friends, whose curiosity had led them to be exactly informed, (for as to my own part, having no doubt at all in the matter, I never once thought of it) assured me, I computed to something under half an hour; which (I speak my private opinion) is an errour of no very great magnitude, that men should raise a clamour about it. I shall only say, it would not be amiss, if that author would henceforth be more tender of other men's reputation, as well as his own. It is well there were no more mistakes of that kind; if there had, I presume he would have told me of them with as little ceremony.

There is one objection against Mr. Partridge's death, which I have sometimes met with, though indeed very slightly offered, that he still continues to write almanacks. But this is no more than what is common to all of that profession: Gadbury, Poor Robin, Dove, Wing, and several others, do

yearly publish their almanacks, though several of them have been dead since before the Revolution. Now the natural reason of this I take to be, that whereas it is the privilege of authors to live after their death, almanackmakers are alone excluded; because their dissertations, treating only upon the minutes as they pass, become useless as those go off. In consideration of which, time, whose registers they are, gives them a lease in reversion, to continue their works after death.

I should not have given the publick, or myself, the trouble of this vindication, if my name had not been made use of by several persons, to whom I never lent it; one of which, a few days ago, was pleased to father on me a new set of predictions. But I think these are things too serious to be trifled with. It grieved me to the heart, when I saw my labours, which had cost me so much thought and watching, bawled about by the common hawkers of Grub street, which I only intended for the weighty consideration of the gravest persons. This prejudiced the world so much at first, that several of my friends had the assurance to ask me whether I were in jest? to which I only answered coldly, "that the event "would show." But it is the talent of our age and nation, to turn things of the greatest importance into ridicule. When the end of the year had verified all my predictions, out comes Mr. Partridge's almanack, disputing the point of his death; so that I am employed, like the general who was forced to kill his enemies twice over, whom a necromancer had raised to life. If Mr. Partridge have practised the same experiment upon himself, and be again alive, long may he continue so; that does not in the least contradict

contradict my veracity: but I think I have clearly proved, by invincible demonstration, that he died, at farthest, within half an hour of the time I foretold, and not four hours sooner, as the abovementioned author, in his Letter to a Lord, has maliciously suggested, with design to blast my credit, by charging me with so gross a mistake.

A

# FAMOUS PREDICTION

OF

# M E R L I N,

## THE BRITISH WIZARD.

WRITTEN ABOVE A THOUSAND YEARS AGO, AND RELATING TO THE YEAR 1709.

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES, BY T. N. PHILOMATH.

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LAST year was published a paper of Predictions, pretended to be written by one Isaac Bickerstaff esq., but the true design of it was to ridicule the art of astrology, and expose its professors as ignorant, or impostors. Against this imputation, Dr. Partridge has learnedly vindicated himself in his almanack for that year.

For a farther vindication of this famous art, I have thought fit to present the world with the following prophecy. The original is said to be of the famous Merlin, who lived about a thousand years ago; and the following translation is two hundred years old, for it seems to be written near the end of Henry the Seventh's reign. I found it in an old edition of Merlin's prophecies, imprinted at London by John Hawkins in the year 1530,

1530, page 39. I set it down word for word in the old orthography, and shall take leave to subjoin a few explanatory notes.

Seven and Ten addyd to nine,
Of Fraunce her Woe this is the Sygne,
Tamys Rivere twys y-frozen,
Walke sans wetyng Shoes ne Hozen.
Then compth foorthe, Ich understonde,
From Towne of Stoke to fattyn Londe,
An herdie Chyftan, Woe the Worne
To Fraunce, that eber he was born.
Then shall the Fyshe bewcple his Bosse;
Nor shall grin Berrys make up the Losse.
Ponge Spnnele shall again miscarrye:
And Norways Pryd again shall marry.
And from the Tree whezе Blosums feele,
Ripe Fruit shall come, and all is wele,
Reaums shall daunce Honde in Honde,
And it shall be merrye in old Inglonde,
Then old Inglonde shall be no more,
And no man shall be sorie thezefore,
Gerpon shall habe three Hedes agapne,
Till Hapsburge makyth them but twayne.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES.

Seven and Ten, This line describes the year when these events shall happen. Seven and ten make seventeen, which I explain seventeen hundred, and this number added to nine, makes the year we are now in; for it must be understood of the natural year, which begins the first of January.

Tamys Rivere twys, &c. The river Thames frozen twice in one year, so as men to walk on it,

is

is a very signal accident, which perhaps hath not fallen out for several hundred years before, and is the reason why some astrologers have thought that this prophecy could never be fulfilled, because they imagined such a thing would never happen in our climate.

*From Town of Stoffe, &c.* This is a plain designation of the duke of Marlborough: one kind of stuff used to fatten land is called marle, and every body knows that borough is a name for a town; and this way of expression is after the usual dark manner of old astrological predictions.

*Then shall the Fysshe, &c.* By the fish, is understood the dauphin of France, as their kings eldest sons are called: it is here said, he shall lament the loss of the duke of Burgundy, called the Bosse, which is an English word for humpshoulder, or crookback, as that duke is known to be; and the prophecy seems to mean, that he should be overcome or slain. By the green berrys, in the next line, is meant the young duke of Berry, the dauphin's third son, who shall not have valour or fortune enough to supply the loss of his eldest brother.

*Ponge Symnele, &c.* By Symnele is meant the pretended prince of Wales, who, if he offers to attempt any thing against England, shall miscarry as he did before. Lambert Symnele is the name of a young man, noted in our histories for personating the son (as I remember) of Edward the Fourth.

*And Norwaps Pryd, &c.* I cannot guess who is meant by Norway's pride*, perhaps the reader may, as well as the sense of the two following lines.

* Queen Anne.

Reaums

Reaum shall, &c. Reaums, or, as the word is now, realms, is the old name for kingdoms: and this is a very plain prediction of our happy union, with the felicities that shall attend it. It is added that Old England shall be no more, and yet no man shall be sorry for it. And indeed, properly speaking, England is now no more, for the whole island is one kingdom under the name of Britain.

Geryon shall, &c. This prediction, though somewhat obscure, is wonderfully adapt. Geryon is said to have been a king of Spain, whom Hercules slew. It was a fiction of the poets, that he had three heads, which the author says he shall have again: that is, Spain shall have three kings; which is now wonderfully verified; for beside the king of Portugal, which properly is part of Spain, there are now two rivals for Spain, Charles and Philip: but Charles being descended from the count of Hapsburgh, founder of the Austrian family, shall soon make those heads but two by overturning Philip, and driving him out of Spain.

Some of these predictions are already fulfilled; and it is highly probable the rest may be in due time; and I think, I have not forced the words by my explication into any other sense, than what they will naturally bear. If this be granted, I am sure it must be also allowed, that the author (whoever he were) was a person of extraordinary sagacity; and that astrology brought to such perfection as this, is by no means an art to be despised, whatever Mr. Bickerstaff, or other merry gentlemen are pleased to think. As to the tradition of these lines having been writ in the original by Merlin, I confess I lay not much weight upon it: but it is enough to justify

their

their authority, that the book whence I have transcribed them, was printed 170 years ago, as appears by the titlepage. For the satisfaction of any gentleman, who may be either doubtful of the truth, or curious to be informed, I shall give order to have the very book sent to the printer of this paper, with directions to let any body see it that pleases, because I believe it is pretty scarce.

A MEDITATION

A

# MEDITATION

UPON A

# BROOMSTICK.

ACCORDING TO THE STYLE AND MANNER OF THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE'S MEDITATIONS.

THIS single stick, which you now behold ingloriously lying in that neglected corner, I once knew in a flourishing state in a forest: it was full of sap, full of leaves, and full of boughs: but now, in vain does the busy art of man pretend to vie with nature, by tying that withered bundle of twigs to its sapless trunk: it is now, at best, but the reverse of what it was, a tree turned upside down, the branches on the earth, and the root in the air; it is now handled by every dirty wench, condemned to do her drudgery, and by a capricious kind of fate, destined to make other things clean, and be nasty itself: at length, worn to the stumps in the service of the maids, it is either thrown out of doors, or condemned to the last use, of kindling a fire. When I beheld this, I sighed, and said within myself, Surely man is a Broomstick! nature sent him into the world strong and lusty, in a thriving condition, wearing his own hair on his head, the proper branches of this reasoning

soning vegetable, until the axe of intemperance has lopped off his green boughs, and left him a withered trunk: he then flies to art, and puts on a periwig, valuing himself upon an unnatural bundle of hairs (all covered with powder) that never grew on his head; but now, should this our broomstick pretend to enter the scene, proud of those birchen spoils it never bore, and all covered with dust, though the sweepings of the finest lady's chamber, we should be apt to ridicule and despise its vanity. Partial judges that we are of our own excellencies, and other men's defaults!

But a broomstick, perhaps you will say, is an emblem of a tree standing on its head; and pray what is man, but a topsyturvy creature, his animal faculties perpetually mounted on his rational, his head where his heels should be, grovelling on the earth! and yet, with all his faults, he sets up to be a universal reformer and corrector of abuses, a remover of grievances, rakes into every slut's corner of nature, bringing hidden corruption to the light, and raises a mighty dust where there was none before; sharing deeply all the while in the very same pollutions he pretends to sweep away: his last days are spent in slavery to women, and generally the least deserving; till worn out to the stumps, like his brother besom, he is either kicked out of doors, or made use of to kindle flames for others to warm themselves by.

A

# PROPOSAL

FOR CORRECTING, IMPROVING, AND ASCERTAINING THE

# ENGLISH TONGUE*,

IN

A LETTER TO THE MOST HONOURABLE ROBERT EARL OF OXFORD AND MORTIMER, LORD HIGH TREASURER OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

---

My Lord, *London, Feb.* 22, 1711-12.

WHAT I had the honour of mentioning to your lordship some time ago in conversation, was not a new thought, just then started by accident or occasion, but the result of long reflection; and I have been confirmed in my sentiments, by the opinion of some very judicious persons, with whom I consulted. They all agreed, that nothing would be of greater use toward the improvement of knowledge and politeness, than some effectual method for correcting, enlarging, and ascertaining our language; and they think it a work † very possible to be com-

* This proposal was cavalierly censured by an anonymous writer, supposed to be Mr. Oldmixon, in "Reflections on Dr. Swift's "Letter to the Earl of Oxford, about the English Tongue, 1712."

† This sentence is uncouth, and ungrammatical, and may easily be amended thus—'And they think it very possible to compass the work,' &c.

passed

passed under the protection of a prince, the countenance and encouragement of a ministry, and the care of proper persons chosen for such an undertaking*. I was glad to find your lordship's answer in so different a style, from what has been commonly made use of on the like occasions, for some years past, That all such thoughts must be deferred to a time of peace: a topick, which some have carried so far, that they would not have us by any means think of preserving our civil or religious constitution, because we are engaged in a war abroad. It will be among the distinguishing marks of your ministry, my lord, that you have a genius above all such regards, and that no reasonable proposal for the honour, the advantage, or the ornament of your country, however foreign to your more immediate office, was ever neglected by you. I confess the merit of this candour and condescension is very much lessened, because your lordship hardly leaves us room to offer our good wishes; removing all our difficulties, and supplying our wants, faster than the most visionary projector can adjust his schemes. And therefore, my lord, the design of this paper is not so much to offer you ways and means, as to complain of a grievance, the redressing of which is to be your own work, as much as that of paying the nation's debts, or opening a trade into the South-Sea; and though not of such immediate benefit, as either of

* Dr. Swift proposed a plan of this nature (the forming a society to fix a standard to the English language) to his friend, as he thought him, the lord treasurer Oxford, but without success; precision and perspicuity not being in general the favourite objects of ministers, and perhaps still less so of *that* minister than any other. CHESTERFIELD, *World*, No. 100.

these,

these, or any other of your glorious actions, yet, perhaps, in future ages not less to your honour.

My lord, I do here, in the name of all the learned and polite persons of the nation, complain to your lordship, as first minister, that our language is extremely imperfect; that its daily improvements are by no means in proportion to its daily corruptions; that the pretenders to polish and refine it, have chiefly multiplied abuses and absurdities; and that in many instances it offends against every part of grammar. But lest your lordship should think my censure too severe, I shall take leave to be more particular.

I believe your lordship will agree with me in the reason, why our language is less refined than those of Italy, Spain, or France. 'Tis plain, that the Latin tongue in its purity was never in this island, toward the conquest of which, few or no attempts were made till the time of Claudius; neither was that language ever so vulgar in Britain, as it is known to have been in Gaul and Spain. Farther, we find that the Roman legions here were at length all recalled to help their country against the Goths, and other barbarous invaders. Mean time the Britains, left to shift for themselves, and daily harassed by cruel inroads from the Picts, were forced to call in the Saxons for their defence; who, consequently, reduced the greatest part of the island to their own power, drove the Britains into the most remote and mountainous parts, and the rest of the country, in customs, religion, and language, became wholly Saxon. This I take to be the reason, why there are more Latin words remaining in the British tongue, than in the old Saxon, which, ex-

cepting some few variations in the orthography, is the same in most original words with our present English, as well as with the German and other Northern dialects.

Edward the Confessor, having lived long in France, appears to be the first who introduced any mixture of the French tongue with the Saxon; the court affecting what the prince was fond of, and others taking it up for a fashion, as it is now with us. William the Conqueror proceeded much farther; bringing over with him vast numbers of that nation, scattering them in every monastery, giving them great quantities of land, directing all pleadings to be in that language, and endeavouring to make it universal in the kingdom. This at least is the opinion generally received: but your lordship has fully convinced me, that the French tongue made yet a greater progress here under Harry the Second, who had large territories on that continent both from his father and his wife, made frequent journeys and expeditions thither, and was always attended with a number of his countrymen, retainers at his court. For some centuries after, there was a constant intercourse between France and England, by the dominions we possessed there, and the conquests we made; so that our language, between two and three hundred years ago, seems to have had a greater mixture with French, than at present; many words having been afterward rejected, and some since the time of Spencer; although we have still retained not a few, which have been long antiquated in France. I could produce several instances of both kinds, if it were of any use or entertainment.

To

To examine into the several circumstances by which the language of a country may be altered, would force me to enter into a wide field. I shall only observe, that the Latin, the French, and the English, seem to have undergone the same fortune. The first from the days of Romulus to those of Julius Cæsar, suffered perpetual changes: and by what we meet in those authors who occasionally speak on that subject, as well as from certain fragments of old laws, it is manifest that the Latin three hundred years before Tully was as unintelligible in his time, as the English and French of the same period are now; and these two have changed as much since William the Conqueror, (which is but little less than seven hundred years) as the Latin appears to have done in the like term. Whether our language, or the French, will decline as fast as the Roman did, is a question, that would perhaps admit more debate than it is worth. There were many reasons for the corruptions of the last: as, the change of their government to a tyranny, which ruined the study of eloquence, there being no farther use or encouragement for popular orators: their giving not only the freedom of the city, but capacity for employments, to several towns in Gaul, Spain, and Germany, and other distant parts, as far as Asia; which brought a great number of foreign pretenders into Rome: the slavish disposition of the senate and people, by which the wit and eloquence of the age were wholly turned into panegyrick, the most barren of all subjects: the great corruption of manners, and introduction of foreign luxury, with foreign terms to express it, with several others, that might be assigned; not to mention those inva-

sions from the Goths and Vandals, which are too obvious to insist on*.

The Roman language arrived at great perfection, before it began to decay: and the French, for these last fifty years, has been polishing as much as it will bear, and appears to be declining by the natural inconstancy of that people, and the affectation of some late authors to introduce and multiply cant words, which is the most ruinous corruption in any language. La Bruyere, a late celebrated writer among them, makes use of many new terms, which are not to be found in any of the common dictionaries before his time. But the English tongue is not arrived to such a degree of perfection, as to make us apprehend any thoughts of its decay; and if it were once refined to a certain standard, perhaps there might be ways found out to fix it for ever, or at least till we are invaded and made a conquest† by some other state; and even then our best writings might probably be preserved with care, and grow into esteem, and the authors have a chance for immortality.

But without such great revolutions as these (to which we are, I think, less subject than kingdoms upon the continent) I see no absolute necessity why any language should be perpetually changing; for we find many examples to the contrary. From Homer to Plutarch are above a thousand years; so long at least the purity of the Greek tongue may be allowed to last, and we know not how far before.

* This is ungrammatical; it should be—'which are too obvious *to be insisted on*.'

† It should be—'made a conquest *of*,' &c.

The

The Grecians spread their colonies round all the coasts of Asia Minor, even to the northern parts lying toward the Euxine, in every island of the Ægæan sea, and several others in the Mediterranean; where the language was preserved entire for many ages, after they themselves became colonies to Rome, and till they were overrun by the barbarous nations upon the fall of that empire. The Chinese have books in their language above two thousand years old, neither have the frequent conquests of the Tartars been able to alter it. The German, Spanish, and Italian, have admitted few or no changes for some ages past. The other languages of Europe I know nothing of; neither is there any occasion to consider them.

Having taken this compass, I return to those considerations upon our own language, which I would humbly offer your lordship. The period, wherein the English tongue received most improvement, I take to commence with the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, and to conclude with the great rebellion in forty two. 'Tis true, there was a very ill taste both of style and wit, which prevailed under king James the first; but that seems to have been corrected in the first years of his successor, who, among many other qualifications of an excellent prince, was a great patron of learning. From the civil war to this present time, I am apt to doubt, whether the corruptions in our language have not at least equalled the refinements of it; and these corruptions very few of the best authors in our age have wholly escaped. During the usurpation, such an infusion of enthusiastick jargon prevailed in every writing, as was not shaken off in many years after.

To this succeeded that licentiousness which entered with the restoration, and from infecting our religion and morals, fell to corrupt our language; which last was not likely to be much improved by those, who at the time made up the court of king Charles the second; either such who had followed him in his banishment, or who had been altogether conversant in the dialect of those fanatick times; or young men, who had been educated in the same country: so that the court, which used to be the standard of propriety and correctness of speech, was then, and, I think, has ever since continued, the worst school in England for that accomplishment; and so will remain, till better care be taken in the education of our young nobility, that they may set out into the world with some foundation of literature, in order to qualify them for patterns of politeness. The consequence of this defect, upon our language, may appear from the plays, and other compositions written for entertainment within fifty years past; filled with a succession of affected phrases, and new conceited words, either borrowed from the current style of the court, or from those, who, under the character of men of wit and pleasure, pretended to give the law. Many of these refinements have already been long antiquated, and are now hardly intelligible; which is no wonder, when they were the product only of ignorance and caprice.

I have never known this great town without one or more dunces of figure, who had credit enough to give rise to some new word, and propagate it in most conversations, though it had neither humour nor significancy. If it struck the present taste, it

was

was soon transferred into the plays and current scribbles of the week, and became an addition to our language; while the men of wit and learning, instead of early obviating such corruptions, were too often seduced to imitate and comply with them.

There is another set of men, who have contributed very much to the spoiling of the English tongue; I mean the poets from the time of the restoration. These gentlemen, although they could not be insensible how much our language was already overstocked with monosyllables, yet, to save time and pains, introduced that barbarous custom of abbreviating words, to fit them to the measure of their verses; and this they have frequently done so very injudiciously, as to form such harsh unharmonious sounds, that none but a northern ear could endure; they have joined the most obdurate consonants without one intervening vowel, only to shorten a syllable: and their taste in time became so depraved, that what was at first a poetical license, not to be justified, they made their choice, alleging, that the words pronounced at length sounded faint and languid. This was a pretence to take up the same custom in prose: so that most of the books we see nowadays, are full of those manglings and abbreviations. Instances of this abuse are innumerable: what does your lordship think of the words, drudg'd, disturb'd, rebuk'd, fledg'd, and a thousand others every where to be met with in prose as well as verse? Where by leaving out a vowel to save a syllable, we form so jarring a sound, and so difficult to utter, that I have often wondered how it could ever obtain.

Another cause (and perhaps borrowed from the former) which has contributed not a little to the maiming of our language, is a foolish opinion, advanced of late years, that we ought to spell exactly as we speak; which, beside the obvious inconvenience of utterly destroying our etymology, would be a thing we should never see an end of. Not only the several towns and counties of England have a different way of pronouncing, but even here in London they clip their words after one manner about the court, another in the city, and a third in the suburbs: and in a few years, it is probable, will all differ from themselves, as fancy or fashion shall direct: all which reduced to writing would entirely confound orthography. Yet many people are so fond of this conceit, that it is sometimes a difficult matter to read modern books and pamphlets; where the words are so curtailed, and varied from their original spelling, that whoever has been used to plain English, will hardly know them by sight.

Several young men at the universities, terribly possessed with the fear of pedantry, run into a worse extreme, and think all politeness to consist in reading the daily trash sent down to them from hence: this they call knowing the world, and reading men and manners. Thus furnished they come up to town, reckon all their errours for accomplishments, borrow the newest set of phrases; and if they take a pen into their hands, all the odd words they have picked up in a coffeehouse, or a gaming ordinary, are produced as flowers of style; and the orthography refined to the utmost. To this we owe those monstrous productions, which under the name

of

of Trips, Spies, Amusements, and other conceited appellations, have overrun us for some years past. To this we owe that strange race of wits, who tell us, they write to the humour of the age. And I wish I could say, these quaint fopperies were wholly absent from graver subjects. In short, I would undertake to show your lordship several pieces, where the beauties of this kind are so predominant, that with all your skill in languages, you could never be able to read or understand them.

But I am very much mistaken, if many of these false refinements among us do not arise from a principle, which would quite destroy their credit, if it were well understood and considered. For I am afraid, my lord, that with all the real good qualities of our country, we are naturally not very polite. This perpetual disposition to shorten our words by retrenching the vowels, is nothing else but a tendency to lapse into the barbarity of those northern nations, from whom we are descended, and whose languages labour all under the same defect. For it is worthy our observation, that the Spaniards, the French, and the Italians, although derived from the same northern ancestors with ourselves, are with the utmost difficulty taught to pronounce our words, which the Swedes and Danes, as well as the Germans and the Dutch, attain to with ease, because our syllables resemble theirs in the roughness and frequency of consonants. Now, as we struggle with an ill climate to improve the nobler kinds of fruits, are at the expense of walls to receive and reverberate the faint rays of the sun, and fence against the northern blasts, we sometimes, by the help of a good soil, equal the production

duction of warmer countries, who have no need to be at so much cost and care. It is the same thing with respect to the politer arts among us; and the same defect of heat which gives a fierceness to our natures, may contribute to that roughness of our language, which bears some analogy to the harsh fruit of colder countries. For I do not reckon that we want a genius more than the rest of our neighbours: but your lordship will be of my opinion, that we ought to struggle with these natural disadvantages as much as we can, and be careful whom we employ, whenever we design to correct them, which is a work that has hitherto been assumed by the least qualified hands. So that if the choice had been left to me, I would rather have trusted the refinement of our language, as far as it relates to sound, to the judgment of the women, than of illiterate court fops, half witted poets, and university boys. For it is plain, that women, in their manner of corrupting words, do naturally discard the consonants, as we do the vowels. What I am going to tell your lordship appears very trifling: that more than once, where some of both sexes were in company, I have persuaded two or three of each to take a pen, and write down a number of letters joined together, just as it came into their heads; and upon reading this gibberish, we have found that which the men had wrote*, by the frequent encountring of rough consonants, to sound like High Dutch; and the other, by the women, like Italian, abounding in vowels and liquids. Now, though I would by no means give

* It should be—'*had written*.'

ladies

ladies the trouble of advising us in the reformation of our language, yet I cannot help thinking, that since they have been left out of all meetings, except parties at play, or where worse designs are carried on, our conversation has very much degenerated.

In order to reform our language, I conceive, my lord, that a free judicious choice should be made of such persons, as are generally allowed to be best qualified for such a work, without any regard to quality, party, or profession. These, to a certain number at least, should assemble at some appointed time and place, and fix on rules, by which they design to proceed. What methods they will take, is not for me to prescribe. Your lordship, and other persons in great employments, might please to be of the number: and I am afraid such a society would want your instruction and example, as much as your protection; for I have, not without a little envy, observed of late the style of some great ministers very much to exceed that of any other productions.

The persons who are to undertake this work, will have the example of the French before them, to imitate where these have proceeded right, and to avoid their mistakes. Beside the grammar part, wherein we are allowed to be very defective, they will observe many gross improprieties, which, however authorized by practice, and grown familiar, ought to be discarded. They will find many words that deserve to be utterly thrown out of our language, many more to be corrected, and perhaps not a few long since antiquated, which ought to be restored on account of their energy and sound.

But

But what I have most at heart, is, that some method should be thought on for ascertaining and fixing our language for ever, after such alterations are made in it as shall be thought requisite. For I am of opinion, that it is better a language should not be wholly perfect, than that it should be perpetually changing; and we must give over at one time, or at length infallibly change for the worse; as the Romans did, when they began to quit their simplicity of style, for affected refinements, such as we meet in Tacitus and other authors; which ended by degrees in many barbarities,* even before the Goths had invaded Italy.

The fame of our writers is usually confined to these two islands, and it is hard it should be limited in time, as much as place, by the perpetual variations of our speech. It is your lordship's observation, that if it were not for the Bible and Common Prayer Book in the vulgar tongue, we should hardly be able to understand any thing, that was written among us a hundred years ago; which is certainly true: for those books, being perpetually read in churches, have proved a kind of standard for language, especially to the common people. And I doubt, whether the alterations since introduced, have added much to the beauty or strength of the English tongue, though they have taken off a great deal from that simplicity, which is one of the greatest perfections in any language. You, my lord, who are so conversant in the sacred writings, and so great

* *Barbarisms*, would here be a more proper word, as being more peculiarly appropriated to express faults and impurities in style: and *barbarity*, in general, conveying the idea of cruelty.

a judge

a judge of them in their originals, will agree, that no translation our country ever yet produced, has come up to that of the Old and New Testament: and by the many beautiful passages, which I have often had the honour to hear your lordship cite from thence, I am persuaded, that the translators of the Bible were masters of an English style much fitter for that work, than any we see in our present writings; which I take to be owing to the simplicity that runs through the whole. Then, as to the greatest part of our liturgy, compiled long before the translation of the Bible now in use, and little altered since; there seem to be in it as great strains of true sublime eloquence, as are any where to be found in our language; which every man of good taste will observe in the communion service, that of burial, and other parts.

But when I say; that I would have our language, after it is duly corrrect, always to last, I do not mean that it should never be enlarged. Provided that no word, which a society shall give a sanction to, be afterward antiquated and exploded, they may have liberty to receive whatever new ones they shall find occasion for; because then the old books will yet be always valuable, according to their intrinsick worth, and not thrown aside on account of unintelligible words and phrases, which appear harsh and uncouth, only because they are out of fashion. Had the Roman tongue continued vulgar in that city till this time, it would have been absolutely necessary, from the mighty changes that have been made in law and religion, from the many terms of art required in trade and in war, from the new inventions that have happened in the world, from the vast

spreading

spreading of navigation and commerce, with many other obvious circumstances, to have made great additions to that language; yet the ancients would still have been read and understood with pleasure and ease. The Greek tongue received many enlargements between the time of Homer and that of Plutarch, yet the former author was probably as well understood in Trajan's time, as the latter. What Horace says of words going off and perishing like leaves, and new ones coming in their place, is a misfortune he laments, rather than a thing he approves; but I cannot see why this should be absolutely necessary, or if it were, what would have become of his *monumentum ære perennius*.

Writing by memory only, as I do at present, I would gladly keep within my depth; and therefore shall not enter into farther particulars. Neither do I pretend more than to show the usefulness of this design, and to make some general observations, leaving the rest to that society, which I hope will owe its institution and patronage to your lordship. Besides, I would willingly avoid repetition, having about a year ago communicated to the publick much of what I had to offer upon this subject, by the hands of an ingenious gentleman, who for a long time did thrice a week divert or instruct the kingdom by his papers; and is supposed to pursue the same design at present under the title of Spectator. This author, who has tried the force and compass of our language with so much success, agrees entirely with me in most of my sentiments relating to it; so do the greatest part of the men of wit and learning, whom I have had the happiness to converse with; and therefore I imagine that such a

society

society would be pretty unanimous in the main points.

Your lordship must allow, that such a work as this, brought to perfection, would very much contribute to the glory of her majesty's reign: which ought to be recorded in words more durable than brass, and such as our posterity may read a thousand years hence, with pleasure, as well as admiration. I always disapproved that false compliment to princes, that the most lasting monument they can have, is the hearts of their subjects. It is indeed their greatest present felicity to reign in their subjects hearts; but these are too perishable to preserve their memories, which can only be done by the pens of able and faithful historians. And I take it to be your lordship's duty, as prime minister, to give order for inspecting our language, and rendering it fit to record the history of so great and good a princess. Besides, my lord, as disinterested as you appear to the world, I am convinced that no man is more in the power of a prevailing favourite passion than yourself; I mean that desire of true and lasting honour, which you have born along with you through every stage of your life. To this you have often sacrificed your interest, your ease, and your health: for preserving and increasing this, you have exposed your person to secret treachery, and open violence. There is not perhaps an example in history of any minister, who in so short a time has performed so many great things, and overcome so many difficulties. Now, though I am fully convinced, that you fear God, honour your queen, and love your country, as much as any of your fellow subjects, yet I must believe that the

the desire of fame has been no inconsiderable motive to quicken you in the pursuit of those actions, which will best deserve it. But at the same time I must be so plain as to tell your lordship, that if you will not take some care to settle our language, and put it into a state of continuance, I cannot promise that your memory shall be preserved above a hundred years, farther than by imperfect tradition.

As barbarous and ignorant as we were in former centuries, there was more effectual care taken by our ancestors, to preserve the memory of times and persons, than we find in this age of learning and politeness, as we are pleased to call it. The rude Latin of the monks is still very intelligible: whereas, had their records been delivered down only in the vulgar tongue, so barren and so barbarous, so subject to continual succeeding changes, they could not now be understood, unless by antiquaries, who make it their study to expound them. And we must, at this day, have been content with such poor abstracts of our English story, as laborious men of low genius would think fit to give us: and even these, in the next age, would be likewise swallowed up in succeeding collections. If things go on at this rate, all I can promise your lordship, is, that about two hundred years hence, some painful compiler, who will be at the trouble of studying old language, may inform the world, that in the reign of queen Anne, Robert earl of Oxford, a very wise and excellent man, was made high treasurer, and saved his country, which in those days was almost ruined by a foreign war, and a domestick faction. Thus much he may be able to pick out, and willing to transfer into his new history;

tory; but the rest of your character, which I, or any other writer may now value ourselves by drawing, and the particular account of the great things done under your ministry, for which you are already so celebrated in most parts of Europe, will probably be dropped, on account of the antiquated style and manner they are delivered in.

How then shall any man, who has a genius for history equal to the best of the ancients, be able to undertake such a work with spirit and cheerfulness, when he considers that he will be read with pleasure but a very few years, and in an age or two shall hardly be understood without an interpreter? This is like employing an excellent statuary to work upon mouldering stone. Those, who apply their studies to preserve the memory of others, will always have some concern for their own. And I believe it is for this reason, that so few writers among us, of any distinction, have turned their thoughts to such a discouraging employment; for, the best English historian must lie under this mortification, that when his style grows antiquated, he will be only considered as a tedious relater of facts; and perhaps consulted in his turn, among other neglected authors, to furnish materials for some future collector.

I doubt your lordship is but ill entertained with a few scattered thoughts upon a subject, that deserves to be treated with ability and care: however, I must beg leave to add a few words more, perhaps not altogether foreign to the same matter. I know not whether that which I am going to say may pass for caution, advice, or reproach, any of which, will be justly thought very improper from



1905

one in my station, to one in yours. However, I must venture to affirm, that if genius and learning be not encouraged under your lordship's administration, you are the most inexcusable person alive. All your other virtues, my lord, will be defective without this; your affability, candour, and good nature; that perpetual agreeableness of conversation, so disengaged in the midst of such a weight of business and opposition; even your justice, prudence, and magnanimity, will shine less bright without it. Your lordship is universally allowed to possess a very large portion in most parts of literature; and to this you owe the cultivating of those many virtues, which, otherwise, would have been less adorned, or in lower perfection. Neither can you acquit yourself of these obligations, without letting the arts, in their turn, share your influence and protection: besides, who knows but some true genius may happen to arise under your ministry, *exortus ut ætherius sol.* Every age might perhaps produce one or two of these to adorn it, if they were not sunk under the censure and obloquy of plodding, servile, imitating pedants: I do not mean by a true genius any bold writer, who breaks through the rules of decency, to distinguish himself by the singularity of his opinions: but one, who, upon a deserving subject, is able to open new scenes, and discover a vein of true and noble thinking, which never entered into any imagination before: every stroke of whose pen is worth all the paper blotted by hundreds of others in the compass of their lives. I know, my lord, your friends will offer in your defence, that in your private capacity, you never refused your purse and credit to the service and support

port of learned or ingenious men: and that ever since you have been in publick employment, you have constantly bestowed your favours to the most deserving persons. But I desire your lordship not to be deceived; we never will admit of these excuses, nor will allow your private liberality, as great as it is, to atone for your excessive publick thrift. But here again I am afraid most good subjects will interpose in your defence, by alleging the desperate condition you found the nation in, and the necessity there was for so able and faithful a steward to retrieve it, if possible, by the utmost frugality. We grant all this, my lord; but then it ought likewise to be considered, that you have already saved several millions to the publick, and that what we ask, is too inconsiderable to break into any rules of the strictest good husbandry. The French king bestows about half a dozen pensions to learned men in several parts of Europe, and perhaps a dozen in his own kingdom: which, in the whole, do probably not amount to half the income of many a private commoner in England, yet have more contributed to the glory of that prince, than any million he has otherwise employed. For, learning, like all true merit, is easily satisfied; while the false and counterfeit, is perpetually craving, and never thinks it has enough. The smallest favour given by a great prince, as a mark of esteem, to reward the endowments of the mind, never fails to be returned with praise and gratitude, and loudly celebrated to the world. I have known some years ago several pensions given to particular persons, (how deservedly I shall not inquire) any one of which, if divided into smaller parcels, and distributed by the crown to those, who

might upon occasion distinguish themselves by some extraordinary production of wit or learning, would be amply sufficient to answer the end. Or, if any such persons were above money, (as every great genius certainly is with very moderate conveniencies of life) a medal, or some mark of distinction, would do full as well.

But I forget my province, and find myself turning projector before I am aware; although it be one of the last characters under which I should desire to appear before your lordship, especially when I have the ambition of aspiring to that of being with the greatest respect and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient, most obliged,

and most humble servant,

J. SWIFT.

A

# LETTER

TO

## A YOUNG CLERGYMAN,

LATELY ENTERED INTO

## HOLY ORDERS.

SIR, DUBLIN, *Jan.* 9, 1719-20.

ALTHOUGH it was against my knowledge or advice, that you entered into holy orders, under the present dispositions of mankind toward the church, yet since it is now supposed too late to recede, (at least according to the general practice and opinion) I cannot forbear offering my thoughts to you upon this new condition of life you are engaged in.

I could heartily wish, that the circumstances of your fortune had enabled you to have continued some years longer in the university, at least till you were ten years standing; to have laid in a competent stock of human learning, and some knowledge in divinity, before you attempted to appear in the world: for I cannot but lament the common course which at least nine in ten of those, who enter into the ministry, are obliged to run. When they have

taken a degree, and are consequently grown a burden to their friends who now think themselves fully discharged, they get into orders as soon as they can, (upon which I shall make no remarks) first solicit a readership, and if they be very fortunate, arrive in time to a curacy here in town, or else are sent to be assistants in the country, where they probably continue several years (many of them their whole lives) with thirty or forty pounds a year for their support: till some bishop, who happens to be not overstocked with relations, or attached to favourites, or is content to supply his diocese without colonies from England, bestows upon them some inconsiderable benefice, when it is odds they are already encumbered with a numerous family. I should be glad to know, what intervals of life such persons can possibly set apart for the improvement of their minds; or which way they could be furnished with books, the library they brought with them from their college, being usually not the most numerous, or judiciously chosen. If such gentlemen arrive to be great scholars, it must, I think, be either by means supernatural, or by a method altogether out of any road yet known to the learned. But I conceive the fact directly otherwise, and that many of them lose the greatest part of the small pittance they receive at the university.

I take it for granted, that you intend to pursue the beaten track, and are already desirous to be seen in a pulpit: only I hope you will think it proper to pass your quarantine among some of the desolate churches five miles round this town, where you may at least learn to read and to speak, before you venture to expose your parts in a city congregation; not

not that these are better judges, but because, if a man must needs expose his folly, it is more safe and discreet to do so before few witnesses, and in a scattered neighbourhood. And you will do well if you can prevail upon some intimate and judicious friend to be your constant hearer, and allow him with the utmost freedom to give you notice of whatever he shall find amiss, either in your voice or gesture; for want of which early warning, many clergymen continue defective, and sometimes ridiculous, to the end of their lives. Neither is it rare to observe among excellent and learned divines, a certain ungracious manner, or an unhappy tone of voice, which they never have been able to shake off.

I should likewise have been glad, if you had applied yourself a little more to the study of the English language, than I fear you have done; the neglect whereof is one of the most general defects among the scholars of this kingdom, who seem not to have the least conception of a style, but run on in a flat kind of phraseology, often mingled with barbarous terms and expressions, peculiar to the nation: neither do I perceive that any person either finds or acknowledges his wants upon this head, or in the least desires to have them supplied. Proper words, in proper places, make the true difinition of a style. But this would require too ample a disquisition to be now dwelt on: however, I shall venture to name one or two faults, which are easy to be remedied*, with a very small portion of abilities.

The

* It should be—'which are *easily* to be remedied;' that is, re-

The first, is the frequent use of obscure terms, which by the women are called hard words, and by the better sort of vulgar, fine language; than which I do not know a more universal, inexcusable, and unnecessary mistake, among the clergy of all distinctions, but especially the younger practitioners. I have been curious enough to take a list of several hundred words in a sermon of a new beginner, which not one of his hearers among a hundred could possibly understand; neither can I easily call to mind any clergyman of my own acquaintance, who is wholly exempt from this errour, although many of them agree with me in the dislike of the thing. But I am apt to put myself in the place of the vulgar, and think many words difficult or obscure, which the preacher will not allow to be so, because those words are obvious to scholars. I believe the method observed by the famous lord Falkland, in some of his writings, would not be an ill one for young divines: I was assured by an old person of quality, who knew him well, that when he doubted whether a word was perfectly intelligible or not, he used to consult one of his lady's chambermaids, (not the waitingwoman, because it was possible she might be conversant in romances) and by her judgment was guided whether to receive or reject it. And if that great person thought such a caution necessary in treatises offered to the learned world, it will be sure at least as proper in sermons, where the meanest hearer is supposed to be con-

medied with ease. The absurdity of using the adjective instead of the adverb, will be manifest only by transposing the words, thus—which are to be remedied *easy*—instead of easily. This is a fault frequently committed.

cerned,

cerned, and where very often a lady's chambermaid may be allowed to equal half the congregation, both as to quality and understanding. But I know not how it comes to pass, that professors in most arts and sciences are generally the worst qualified to explain their meanings to those, who are not of their tribe: a common farmer shall make you understand in three words, that his foot is out of joint, or his collar-bone broken; wherein a surgeon, after a hundred terms of art, if you are not a scholar, shall leave you to seek. It is frequently the same case in law, physick, and even many of the meaner arts.

And upon this account it is, that among hard words, I number likewise those, which are peculiar to divinity as it is a science, because I have observed several clergymen, otherwise little fond of obscure terms, yet in their sermons very liberal of those, which they find in ecclesiastical writers, as if it were our duty to understand them; which I am sure it is not. And I defy the greatest divine to produce any law either of God or man, which obliges me to comprehend the meaning of omniscience, omnipresence, ubiquity, attribute, beatifick vision, with a thousand others so frequent in pulpits, any more than that of excentrick, idiosyncracy, entity, and the like. I believe I may venture to insist farther, that many terms used in holy writ, particularly by St. Paul, might with more discretion be changed into plainer speech, except when they are introduced as part of a quotation.

I am the more earnest in this matter, because it is a general complaint, and the justest in the world. For, a divine has nothing to say to the wisest congregation

gregation of any parish in this kingdom, which he may not express in manner to be understood by the meanest among them. And this assertion must be true, or else God requires from us more than we are able to perform. However, not to contend whether a logician might possibly put a case that would serve for an exception, I will appeal to any man of letters, whether at least nineteen in twenty of those perplexing words, might not be changed into easy ones, such as naturally first occur to ordinary men, and probably did so at first to those very gentlemen, who are so fond of the former.

We are often reproved by divines, from the pulpits, on account of our ignorance in things sacred, and perhaps with justice enough: however, it is not very reasonable for them to expect, that common men should understand expressions, which are never made use of in common life. No gentleman thinks it safe or prudent to send a servant with a message, without repeating it more than once, and endeavouring to put it into terms brought down to the capacity of the bearer: yet, after all this care, it is frequent for servants to mistake, and sometimes occasion misunderstandings among friends. Although the common domesticks in some gentlemen's families, have more opportunities of improving their minds, than the ordinary sort of tradesmen.

It is usual for clergymen, who are taxed with this learned defect, to quote Dr. Tillotson, and other famous divines, in their defence, without considering the difference between elaborate discourses upon important occasions, delivered to princes or parliaments, written with a view of being made publick, and

and a plain sermon intended for the middle or lower size of people. Neither do they seem to remember the many alterations, additions, and expungings made by great authors in those treatises, which they prepare for the publick. Beſides, that excellent prelate above-mentioned, was known to preach after a much more popular manner in the city congregations: and if in those parts of his works he be any where too obscure for the understandings of many, who may be supposed to have been his hearers, it ought to be numbered among his omiſſions.

The fear of being thought pedants, has been of pernicious consequence to young divines. This has wholly taken many of them off from their severer studies in the university; which they have exchanged for plays, poems, and pamphlets, in order to qualify them for teatables and coffeehouses. This they usually call "polite conversation, knowing the world, "and reading men instead of books." These accomplishments, when applied to the pulpit, appear by a quaint, terse, florid style, rounded into periods and cadences, commonly without either propriety or meaning. I have listened with my utmost attention for half an hour to an orator of this species, without being able to understand, much less to carry away, one single sentence out of a whole sermon. Others, to show that their studies have not been confined to sciences, or ancient authors, will talk in the style of a gaming ordinary, and White Friars*, when I suppose

* The style of White Friars was that of sharpers, bullies, and other fugitives from the law. This precinct in 1609 obtained from king James a charter of exemption from parish, ward, and city offices,

pose the hearers can be little edified by the terms of "palming, shuffling, biting, bamboozling," and the like, if they have not been sometimes conversant among pickpockets and sharpers. And truly, as they say a man is known by his company, so it should seem that a man's company may be known by his manner of expressing himself, either in publick assemblies, or private conversation.

It would be endless to run over the several defects of style among us: I shall therefore say nothing of the mean and paltry (which are usually attended by the fustian) much less of the slovenly or indecent. Two things I will just warn you against: the first is, the frequency of flat unnecessary epithets; and the other is, the folly of using old threadbare phrases, which will often make you go out of your way to find and apply them, are nauseous to rational hearers, and will seldom express your meaning, as well as your own natural words.

Although, as I have already observed, our English tongue is too little cultivated in this kingdom, yet the faults are nine in ten owing to affectation, and not to the want of understanding. When a man's thoughts are clear, the properest words will generally offer themselves first, and his own judgment will direct him in what order to place them, so as they may be best understood. Where men err against this method, it is usually on purpose, and

offices, except in the militia; being possessed thereof, the inhabitants claimed afterward a power and right to protect the persons of debtors, whereby the place became filled with lawless refugees of all sorts, who grew to such a height of wickedness and impudence, that it was found necessary in king William's time by act of parliament to suppress and bring them to justice.

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to show their knowledge of the world. In short, that simplicity, without which no human performance can arrive to any great perfection, is no where more eminently useful, than in this.

I have been considering that part of oratory, which relates to the moving of the passions; this I observe is in esteem and practice among some church divines, as well as among all the preachers and hearers of the fanatick or enthusiastick strain. I will here deliver to you (perhaps with more freedom than prudence) my opinion upon the point.

The two great orators of Greece and Rome, Demosthenes and Cicero, though each of them a leader (or as the Greeks called it, a demagogue) in a popular state, yet seem to differ in their practice upon this branch of their art: the former, who had to deal with a people of much more politeness, learning, and wit, laid the greatest weight of his oratory upon the strength of his arguments, offered to their understanding and reason: whereas Tully considered the dispositions of a sincere, more ignorant, and less mercurial nation, by dwelling almost entirely on the pathetick part.

But the principal thing to be remembered is, that the constant design of both these orators, in all their speeches, was, to drive some one particular point; either the condemnation or acquittal of an accused person, a persuasive to war, the enforcing of a law, and the like: which was determined upon the spot, according as the orators on either side prevailed. And here it was often found of absolute necessity to inflame or cool the passions of the audience; especially at Rome, where Tully spoke, and with whose writings young divines (I

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mean those among them who read old authors) are more conversant than with those of Demosthenes; who by many degrees excelled the other, at least as an orator. But I do not see how this talent of moving the passions, can be of any great use toward directing Christian men in the conduct of their lives; at least in these northern climates, where I am confident the strongest eloquence of that kind, will leave few impressions upon any of our spirits, deep enough to last till the next morning, or rather, to the next meal.

But what has chiefly put me out of conceit with this moving manner of preaching, is the frequent disappointment it meets with. I know a gentleman, who made it a rule in reading, to skip over all sentences where he spied a note of admiration at the end. I believe those preachers, who abound in epiphonemas*, if they look about them, would find one part of their congregation out of countenance, and the other asleep; except perhaps an old female beggar or two in the aisles, who (if they be sincere) may probably groan at the sound.

Nor is it a wonder, that this expedient should so often miscarry, which requires so much art and genius to arrive at any perfection in it; as every man will find, much sooner than learn, by consulting Cicero himself.

I therefore entreat you to make use of this faculty (if you ever be so unfortunate as to think you have it) as seldom, and with as much caution as you can, else I may probably have occasion to say of you, as a great person said of another upon this

* Epiphonema is a figure in rhetorick, signifying a sententious kind of exclamation.

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very subject. A lady asked him, coming out of church, whether it were not a very moving discourse? "Yes," says he, "I was extremely sorry, for the "man is my friend."

If in company you offer something for a jest, and nobody seconds you in your own laughter, or seems to relish what you said, you may condemn their taste, if you please, and appeal to better judgments; but in the mean time, it must be agreed, you make a very indifferent figure: and it is, at least, equally ridiculous to be disappointed in endeavouring to make other folks grieve, as to make them laugh.

A plain convincing reason may possibly operate upon the mind, both of a learned and ignorant hearer, as long as they live, and will edify a thousand times more than the art of wetting the handkerchiefs of a whole congregation, if you were sure to attain it.

If your arguments be strong, in God's name offer them in as moving a manner as the nature of the subject will properly admit, wherein reason and good advice will be your safest guides; but beware of letting the pathetick part swallow up the rational: for I suppose philosophers have long agreed, that passion should never prevail over reason.

As I take it, the two principal branches of preaching are, first to tell the people what is their duty, and then to convince them that it is so. The topicks for both these, we know, are brought from Scripture and reason. Upon the former, I wish it were often practised to instruct the hearers in the limits, extent, and compass of every duty; which requires a good deal of skill and judgment: the

other

other branch is, I think, not so difficult. But what I would offer upon both, is this, that it seems to be in the power of a reasonable clergyman, if he will be at the pains, to make the most ignorant man comprehend what is his duty, and to convince him by arguments drawn to the level of his understanding, that he ought to perform it.

But I must remember that my design in this paper, was not so much to instruct you in your business, either as a clergyman, or a preacher, as to warn you against some mistakes, which are obvious to the generality of mankind, as well as to me; and we, who are hearers, may be allowed to have some opportunities in the quality of being standers by. Only, perhaps, I may now again transgress, by desiring you to express the heads of your divisions in as few and clear words as you possibly can; otherwise, I, and many thousand others, will never be able to retain them, and consequently to carry away a syllable of the sermon.

I shall now mention a particular, wherein your whole body will be certainly against me, and the laity, almost to a man, on my side. However it came about, I cannot get over the prejudice of taking some little offence at the clergy for perpetually reading their sermons; perhaps my frequent hearing of foreigners, who never make use of notes, may have added to my disgust. And I cannot but think, that whatever is read, differs as much from what is repeated without book, as a copy does from an original. At the same time I am highly sensible, what an extreme difficulty it would be upon you to alter this method; and that, in such a case, your sermons would be much less valuable than they are,

are, for want of time to improve and correct them. I would therefore gladly come to a compromise with you in this matter. I knew a clergyman of some distinction, who appeared to deliver his sermon without looking into his notes, which when I complimented him upon, he assured me, he could not repeat six lines; but his method was to write the whole sermon in a large plain hand, with all the forms of margin, paragraph, marked page, and the like; then on Sunday morning he took care to run it over five or six times, which he could do in an hour; and when he delivered it, by pretending to turn his face from one side to the other, he would (in his own expression) pick up the lines, and cheat his people by making them believe he had it all by heart. He farther added, that whenever he happened by neglect to omit any of these circumstances, the vogue of the parish was, "our doctor gave us but "an indifferent sermon to day." Now among us, many clergymen act so directly contrary to this method, that from a habit of saving time and paper, which they acquired at the university, they write in so diminutive a manner, with such frequent blots and interlineations, that they are hardly able to go on without perpetual hesitations, or extemporary expletives: and I desire to know, what can be more inexcusable, than to see a divine and a scholar at a loss in reading his own compositions, which it is supposed he has been preparing with much pains and thought, for the instruction of his people. The want of a little more care in this article is the cause of much ungraceful behaviour. You will observe some clergymen with their heads held down from the beginning to the end, within an inch of the

cushion, to read what is hardly legible: which, beside the untoward manner, hinders them from making the best advantage of their voice: others again have a trick of popping up and down every moment from their paper, to the audience, like an idle schoolboy on a repetition day.

Let me intreat you therefore to add one half crown a year to the article of paper; to transcribe your sermons in as large and plain a manner as you can; and either make no interlineations, or change the whole leaf; for we, your hearers, would rather you should be less correct, than perpetually stammering, which I take to be one of the worst solecisms in rhetorick. And lastly, read your sermon once or twice a day, for a few days before you preach it: to which you will probably answer some years hence, "that it was but just finished, when "the last bell rang to church:" and I shall readily believe, but not excuse you.

I cannot forbear warning you, in the most earnest manner, against endeavouring at wit in your sermons, because, by the strictest computation, it is very near a million to one that you have none; and because too many of your calling have consequently made themselves everlastingly ridiculous by attempting it. I remember several young men in this town, who could never leave the pulpit under half a dozen conceits; and this faculty adhered to those gentlemen a longer or shorter time, exactly in proportion to their several degrees of dulness: accordingly, I am told that some of them retain it to this day. I heartily wish the brood were at an end.

Before you enter into the common unsufferable cant,

cant, of taking all occasions to disparage the heathen philosophers, I hope you will differ from some of your brethren, by first inquiring what those philosophers can say for themselves. The system of morality to be gathered out of the writings or sayings of those ancient sages, falls undoubtedly very short of that delivered in the Gospel, and wants, besides, the divine sanction which our Saviour gave his. Whatever is farther related by the evangelists, contains chiefly matters of fact, and consequently of faith; such as the birth of Christ, his being the Messiah, his miracles, his death, resurrection, and ascension: none of which can properly come under the appellation of human wisdom, being intended only to make us wise unto salvation. And therefore in this point, nothing can be justly laid to the charge of the philosophers, farther than that they were ignorant of certain facts, which happened long after their death. But I am deceived, if a better comment could be any where collected upon the moral part of the Gospel, than from the writings of those excellent men; even that divine precept of loving our enemies, is at large insisted on by Plato, who puts it, as I remember, into the mouth of Socrates. And as to the reproach of heathenism, I doubt they had less of it than the corrupted Jews, in whose time they lived. For it is a gross piece of ignorance among us, to conceive, that in those polite and learned ages, even persons of any tolerable education, much less the wisest philosophers, did acknowledge or worship any more than one almighty power, under several denominations, to whom they allowed all those attributes we ascribe to the divinity; and as I take it, human comprehension reaches

no farther; neither did our Saviour think it necessary to explain to us the nature of God, because, as I suppose, it would be impossible, without bestowing on us other faculties than we possess at present. But the true misery of the heathen world appears to be, what I before mentioned, the want of a divine sanction, without which the dictates of the philosophers failed in the point of authority; and consequently the bulk of mankind lay indeed under a great load of ignorance, even in the article of morality; but the philosophers themselves did not. Take the matter in this light, and it will afford field enough for a divine to enlarge on, by showing the advantages which the christian world has over the heathen, and the absolute necessity of divine revelation, to make the knowledge of the true God, and the practice of virtue, more universal in the world.

I am not ignorant how much I differ in this opinion from some ancient fathers in the church, who, arguing against the heathens, made it a principal topick to decry their philosophy as much as they could: which, I hope, is not altogether our present case. Besides, it is to be considered, that those fathers lived in the decline of literature; and in my judgment (who should be unwilling to give the least offence) appear to be rather most excellent holy persons, than of transcendent genius and learning. Their genuine writings (for many of them have extremely suffered by spurious additions) are of admirable use for confirming the truth of ancient doctrines and discipline, by showing the state and practice of the primitive church. But among such of them, as have fallen in my way, I do not remember any, whose manner of arguing or exhorting I could heartily

heartily recommend to the imitation of a young divine, when he is to speak from the pulpit. Perhaps I judge too hastily; there being several of them, in whose writings I have made very little progress, and in others none at all. For I perused only such as were recommended to me, at a time when I had more leisure, and a better disposition to read, than have since fallen to my share.

To return then to the heathen philosophers: I hope you will not only give them quarter, but make their works a considerable part of your study. To these I will venture to add the principal orators and historians, and perhaps a few of the poets: by the reading of which, you will soon discover your mind and thoughts to be enlarged, your imagination extended and refined, your judgment directed, your admiration lessened, and your fortitude increased: all which advantages must needs be of excellent use to a divine, whose duty it is to preach and practise the contempt of human things.

I would say something concerning quotations, wherein I think you cannot be too sparing, except from Scripture, and the primitive writers of the church. As to the former, when you offer a text as a proof or an illustration, we your hearers expect to be fairly used, and sometimes think we have reason to complain, especially of you younger divines; which makes us fear, that some of you conceive you have no more to do than to turn over a concordance, and there having found the principal word, introduce as much of the verse, as will serve your turn, though in reality it makes nothing for you. I do not altogether disapprove the manner of interweaving texts of Scripture through the style of your sermon,

wherein however I have sometimes observed great instances of indiscretion and impropriety, against which I therefore venture to give you a caution.

As to quotations from ancient fathers, I think they are best brought in to confirm some opinion controverted by those who differ from us: In other cases, we give you full power to adopt the sentence for your own, rather than tell us, as St. Austin excellently observes. But to mention modern writers by name, or use the phrase of "a late excellent pre-"late of our church," and the like, is altogether intolerable, and for what reason I know not, makes every rational hearer ashamed. Of no better a stamp is your "heathen philosopher," and "famous poet," and "Roman historian," at least in common congregations, who will rather believe you on your own word, than on that of Plato or Homer.

I have lived to see Greek and Latin almost entirely driven out of the pulpit, for which I am heartily glad. The frequent use of the latter was certainly a remnant of popery, which never admitted Scripture in the vulgar language; and I wonder that practice was never accordingly objected to us by the fanaticks.

The mention of quotations puts me in mind of commonplace books, which have been long in use by industrious young divines, and, I hear, do still continue so: I know they are very beneficial to lawyers and physicians, because they are collections of facts or cases, whereupon a great part of their several faculties depend; of these I have seen several, but never yet any written by a clergyman; only from what I am informed, they generally are extracts of theological and moral sentences, drawn from ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical and other authors, reduced under proper heads, usually begun, and perhaps finished, while the collectors were young in the church, as being intended for materials, or nurseries to stock future sermons. You will observe the wise editors of ancient authors, when they meet a sentence worthy of being distinguished, take special care to have the first word printed in capital letters, that you may not overlook it: such, for example, as the inconstancy of fortune, the goodness of peace, the excellency of wisdom, the certainty of death; that prosperity makes men insolent, and adversity humble; and the like eternal truths, which every ploughman knows well enough, though he never heard of Aristotle or Plato. If theological commonplace books be no better filled, I think they had better be laid aside; and I could wish, that men of tolerable intellectuals would rather trust their own natural reason, improved by a general conversation with books, to enlarge on a point, which they are supposed already to understand. If a rational man reads an excellent author with just application, he shall find himself extremely improved, and perhaps insensibly led to imitate that author's perfections, although in a little time he should not remember one word in the book, nor even the subject it handled: for, books give the same turn to our thoughts and way of reasoning, that good and ill company does to our behaviour and conversation; without either loading our memories, or making us even sensible of the change. And particularly I have observed in preaching, that no men succeed better, than those who trust entirely to the stock or fund of their own reason, advanced indeed, but not overlaid by com-

merce with books. Whoever only reads in order to transcribe wise and shining remarks, without entering into the genius and spirit of the author, as it is probable he will make no very judicious extract, so he will be apt to trust to that collection in all his compositions, and be misled out of the regular way of thinking, in order to introduce those materials, which he has been at the pains to gather: and the product of all this, will be found a manifest incoherent piece of patchwork.

Some gentlemen, abounding in their university erudition, are apt to fill their sermons with philosophical terms, and notions of the metaphysical or abstracted kind; which generally have one advantage, to be equally understood by the wise, the vulgar, and the preacher himself. I have been better entertained, and more informed by a few pages in the Pilgrim's Progress, than by a long discourse upon the will and the intellect, and simple or complex ideas. Others again are fond of dilating on matter and motion, talk of the fortuitous concourse of atoms, of theories, and phenomena; directly against the advice of St. Paul, who yet appears to have been conversant enough in those kinds of studies.

I do not find, that you are any where directed in the canons or articles, to attempt explaining the mysteries of the christian religion. And indeed, since Providence intended there should be mysteries, I do not see how it can be agreeable to piety, orthodoxy, or good sense, to go about such a work. For, to me, there seems to be a manifest dilemma in the case: if you explain them, they are mysteries no longer; if you fail, you have laboured to no purpose.

pose. What I should think most reasonable and safe for you to do upon this occasion, is, upon solemn days to deliver the doctrine, as the church holds it; and confirm it by Scripture. For my part, having considered the matter impartially, I can see no great reason, which those gentlemen, you call the free-thinkers, can have for their clamour against religious mysteries; since it is plain, they were not invented by the clergy, to whom they bring no profit, nor acquire any honour. For every clergyman is ready, either to tell us the utmost he knows, or to confess that he does not understand them; neither is it strange, that there should be mysteries in divinity, as well as in the commonest operations of nature.

And here I am at a loss, what to say upon the frequent custom of preaching against atheism, deism, freethinking, and the like, as young divines are particularly fond of doing, especially when they exercise their talent in churches frequented by persons of quality; which, as it is but an ill compliment to the audience, so I am under some doubt whether it answers the end.

Because, persons under those imputations are generally no great frequenters of churches, and so the congregation is but little edified for the sake of three or four fools, who are past grace: neither do I think it any part of prudence to perplex the minds of well-disposed people with doubts, which probably would never have otherwise come into their heads. But I am of opinion, and dare be positive in it, that not one in a hundred of those, who pretend to be free-thinkers, are really so in their hearts. For there is one observation, which I never knew to fail, and I desire you will examine it in the course of your life; that

that no gentleman of a liberal education, and regular in his morals, did ever profess himself a freethinker: where then are these kind of people to be found? among the worst part of the soldiery, made up of pages, younger brothers of obscure families, and others of desperate fortunes: or else among idle town fops, and now and then a drunken 'squire of the country. Therefore, nothing can be plainer, than that ignorance and vice are two ingredients absolutely necessary in the composition of those you generally call freethinkers, who, in propriety of speech, are no thinkers at all. And since I am in the way of it, pray consider one thing farther: as young as you are, you cannot but have already observed, what a violent run there is among too many weak people against university education: be firmly assured, that the whole cry is made up by those, who were either never sent to a college, or, through their irregularities and stupidity, never made the least improvement, while they were there. I have above forty of the latter sort now in my eye; several of them in this town, whose learning, manners, temperance, probity, goodnature, and politicks, are all of a piece: others of them in the country, oppressing their tenants, tyrannizing over the neighbourhood, cheating the vicar, talking nonsense, and getting drunk at the sessions. It is from such seminaries as these, that the world is provided with the several tribes and denominations of freethinkers; who, in my judgment, are not to be reformed by arguments offered to prove the truth of the christian religion, because reasoning will never make a man correct an ill opinion, which by reasoning he never acquired: for, in the course of things, men always grow vicious,

before

before they become unbelievers; but if you would once convince the town or country profligate, by topicks drawn from the view of their own quiet, reputation, health, and advantage, their infidelity would soon drop off: this, I confess, is no easy task, because it is, almost in a literal sense, to fight with beasts. Now, to make it clear, that we are to look for no other original of this infidelity, whereof divines so much complain, it is allowed on all hands, that the people of England are more corrupt in their morals, than any other nation at this day under the sun: and this corruption is manifestly owing to other causes, both numerous and obvious, much more than to the publication of irreligious books, which indeed are but the consequence of the former. For all the writers against christianity, since the revolution, have been of the lowest rank among men in regard to literature, wit, and good sense, and upon that account wholly unqualified to propagate heresies, unless among a people already abandoned.

In an age, where every thing disliked by those, who think with the majority, is called disaffection, it may perhaps be ill interpreted, when I venture to tell you, that this universal depravation of manners, is owing to the perpetual bandying of factions among us for thirty years past, when, without weighing the motives of justice, law, conscience, or honour, every man adjusts his principles to those of the party he has chosen, and among whom he may best find his own account; but by reason of our frequent vicissitudes, men who were impatient of being out of play, have been forced to recant, or at least to reconcile their former tenets, with every new sytem of administration. Add to this, that the

old

old fundamental custom of annual parliaments being wholly laid aside, and elections growing chargeable, since gentlemen found that their country seats brought them in less than a seat in the house, the voters, that is to say, the bulk of the common people, have been universally seduced into bribery, perjury, drunkenness, malice, and slander.

Not to be farther tedious, or rather invidious, these are a few, among other causes, which have contributed to the ruin of our morals, and consequently to the contempt of religion: for, imagine to yourself, if you please, a landed youth, whom his mother would never suffer to look into a book for fear of spoiling his eyes, got into parliament, and observing all enemies to the clergy heard with the utmost applause, what notions he must imbibe, how readily he will join in the cry, what an esteem he will conceive of him, and what a contempt he must entertain, not only for his vicar at home, but for the whole order.

I therefore again conclude, that the trade of infidelity has been taken up only for an expedient to keep in countenance that universal corruption of morals, which many other causes first contributed to introduce and to cultivate. And thus Mr. Hobbes's saying upon reason may be much more properly applied to religion: that, if religion will be against a man, a man will be against religion. Though after all, I have heard a profligate offer much stronger arguments against paying his debts, than ever he was known to do against christianity; indeed the reason was, because in that juncture he happened to be closer pressed by the bailiff, than the parson.

Ignorance

Ignorance may perhaps be the mother of superstition, but experience has not proved it to be so of devotion; for christianity always made the most easy and quickest progress in civilized countries. I mention this, because it is affirmed, that the clergy are in most credit where ignorance prevails, (and surely this kingdom would be called the paradise of clergymen, if that opinion were true) for which they instance England in the times of popery. But, whoever knows any thing of three or four centuries before the reformation, will find the little learning then stirring was more equally divided between the English clergy and laity, than it is at present. There were several famous lawyers in that period, whose writings are still in the highest repute, and some historians and poets, who were not of the church. Whereas now a days our education is so corrupted, that you will hardly find a young person of quality with the least tincture of knowledge, at the same time that many of the clergy were never more learned, or so scurvily treated. Here among us at least, a man of letters, out of the three professions, is almost a prodigy. And those few, who have preserved any rudiments of learning, are (except perhaps one or two smatterers) the clergy's friends to a man: and I dare appeal to any clergyman in this kingdom, whether the greatest dunce in the parish, be not always the most proud, wicked, fraudulent, and intractable of his flock.

I think the clergy have almost given over perplexing themselves and their hearers, with abstruse points of predestination, election, and the like; at least, it is time they should; and therefore I shall not trouble you farther upon this head.

I have

I have now said all I could think convenient with relation to your conduct in the pulpit: your behaviour in the world, is another scene, upon which I shall readily offer you my thoughts, if you appear to desire them from me by your approbation of what I have here written; if not, I have already troubled you too much.

I am, SIR,

Your affectionate

Friend and Servant.

AN

# ESSAY

ON THE

# FATES OF CLERGYMEN.

THERE is no talent so useful toward rising in the world, or which puts men more out of the reach of fortune, than that quality generally possessed by the dullest sort of men, and in common speech called discretion; a species of lower prudence, by the assistance of which, people of the meanest intellectuals, without any other qualification, pass through the world in great tranquillity, and with universal good treatment, neither giving nor taking offence. Courts are seldom unprovided of persons under this character, on whom, if they happen to be of great quality, most employments, even the greatest, naturally fall, when competitors will not agree; and in such promotions nobody rejoices or grieves. The truth of this I could prove by several instances within my own memory; for I say nothing of present times.

And indeed, as regularity and forms are of great use in carrying on the business of the world, so it is very convenient, that persons endued with this kind of discretion, should have that share which is

proper

proper to their talents, in the conduct of affairs, but by no means meddle in matters which require genius, learning, strong comprehension, quickness of conception, magnanimity, generosity, sagacity, or any other superiour gift of human minds. Because this sort of discretion is usually attended with a strong desire of money, and few scruples about the way of obtaining it; with servile flattery and submisson; with a want of all publick spirit or principle; with a perpetual wrong judgment, when the owners come into power and high place, how to dispose of favour and preferment; having no measure for merit and virtue in others, but those very steps, by which themselves ascended; nor the least intention of doing good or hurt to the publick, farther than either one or t'other is likely* to be subservient to their own security or interest. Thus being void of all friendship and enmity, they never complain or find fault with the times, and indeed never have reason to do so.

Men of eminent parts and abilities, as well as virtues, do sometimes rise in the court, sometimes in the law, and sometimes even in the church. Such were the lord Bacon, the earl of Strafford, archbishop Laud in the reign of king Charles I, and others in our own times, whom I shall not name; but these, and many more, under different princes, and in different kingdoms, were disgraced, or banished, or suffered death, merely in envy to their virtues and superiour genius, which emboldened

* This mode of expression is ungrammatical and vulgar: it should be—'farther than *as* either *the* one or *the* other is likely,' &c.

them

them in great exigencies and distresses of state (wanting a reasonable infusion of this aldermanly discretion) to attempt the service of their prince and country, out of the common forms.

This evil fortune, which generally attends extraordinary men in the management of great affairs, has been imputed to divers causes, that need not be here set down, when so obvious a one occurs, if what a certain writer observes be true, that when a great genius appears in the world, the dunces are all in confederacy against him. And if this be his fate when he employs his talents wholly in his closet, without interfering with any man's ambition or avarice; what must he expect, when he ventures out to seek for preferment in a court, but universal opposition, when he is mounting the ladder, and every hand ready to turn him off, when he is at the top? and in this point, fortune generally acts directly contrary to nature; for, in nature we find, that bodies full of life and spirits mount easily, and are hard to fall, whereas heavy bodies are hard to rise, and come down with greater velocity, in proportion to their weight; but we find fortune every day acting just the reverse of this.

This talent of discretion, as I have described it in its several adjuncts, and circumstances, is no where so serviceable as to the clergy, to whose preferment nothing is so fatal as the character of wit, politeness in reading or manners, or that kind of behaviour, which we contract by having too much conversation with persons of high station and eminency; these qualifications being reckoned by the vulgar of all ranks, to be marks of levity, which is the last crime the world will pardon in a clergyman:

to this I may add a free manner of speaking in mixt company, and too frequent an appearance in places of much resort, which are equally noxious to spiritual promotion.

I have known indeed a few exceptions to some parts of these observations. I have seen some of the dullest men alive aiming at wit, and others, with as little pretensions, affecting politeness in manners and discourse; but never being able to persuade the world of their guilt, they grew into considerable stations, upon the firm assurance, which all people had of their discretion, because they were a size too low to deceive the world to their own disadvantage. But this I confess is a trial too dangerous often to engage in.

There is a known story of a clergyman, who was recommended for a preferment by some great men at court to an archbishop. His grace* said, he had heard that the clergyman used to play at whist and swobbers; that as to playing now and then a sober game at whist for pastime, it might be pardoned; but he could not digest those wicked swobbers; and it was with some pains that my lord Somers could undeceive him. I ask, by what talents we may suppose that great prelate ascended so high, or what sort of qualifications he would expect in those, whom he took into his patronage, or would probably recommend to court for the government of distant churches?

Two clergymen, in my memory, stood candidates for a small freeschool in Yorkshire, where a gentleman of quality and interest in the country, who hap-

* Archbishop Tennison.

pened to have a better understanding than his neighbours, procured the place for him, who was the better scholar, and more gentlemanly person of the two, very much to the regret of all the parish: the other, being disappointed, came up to London, where he became the greatest pattern of this lower discretion, that I have known, and possessed it with as heavy intellectuals; which, together with the coldness of his temper, and gravity of his deportment, carried him safe through many difficulties, and he lived and died in a great station; while his competitor is too obscure for fame to tell us what became of him.

This species of discretion, which I so much celebrate, and do most heartily recommend, has one advantage not yet mentioned; it will carry a man safe through all the malice and variety of parties, so far, that whatever faction happens to be uppermost, his claim is usually allowed for a share of what is going. And the thing seems to me highly reasonable: for in all great changes, the prevailing side is usually so tempestuous, that it wants the ballast of those, whom the world calls moderate men, and I call men of discretion; whom people in power may, with little ceremony, load as heavy* as they please, drive them through the hardest and deepest roads without danger of foundering, or breaking their backs, and will be sure to find them neither resty nor vicious.

I will here give the reader a short history of two clergymen in England, the characters of each, and

* The adjective here is used improperly for the adverb: it should be—'as heavily as they please.'

the progress of their fortunes in the world; by which the force of worldly discretion, and the bad consequences from the want of that virtue, will strongly appear.

Corusodes, an Oxford student, and a farmer's son, was never absent from prayers or lecture, nor once out of his college after Tom had tolled. He spent every day ten hours in his closet, in reading his courses, dozing, clipping papers, or darning his stockings; which last he performed to admiration. He could be soberly drunk, at the expense of others, with college ale, and at those seasons was always most devout. He wore the same gown five years without dragling or tearing. He never once looked into a playbook or a poem. He read Virgil and Ramus in the same cadence, but with a very different taste. He never understood a jest, or had the least conception of wit.

For one saying he stands in renown to this day. Being with some other students over a pot of ale, one of the company said so many pleasant things, that the rest were much diverted, only Corusodes was silent and unmoved. When they parted, he called this merry companion aside, and said, "Sir, "I perceive by your often speaking, and our friends "laughing, that you spoke many jests; and you "could not but observe my silence: but, sir, this "is my humour; I never make a jest myself, nor "ever laugh at another man's."

Corusodes thus endowed got into holy orders; having by the most extreme parsimony, saved thirty-four pounds out of a very beggarly fellowship, he went up to London, where his sister was waitingwoman to a lady, and so good a solicitor, that

that by her means he was admitted to read prayers in the family twice a day, at ten shillings a month. He had now acquired a low, obsequious, awkward bow, and a talent of gross flattery both in and out of season; he would shake the butler by the hand; he taught the page his catechism, and was sometimes admitted to dine at the steward's table. In short, he got the good word of the whole family, and was recommended by my lady for chaplain to some other noble houses, by which his revenue (beside vales) amounted to about thirty pounds a year: his sister procured him a scarf from my lord, who had a small design of gallantry upon her; and by his lordship's solicitation he got a lectureship in town of sixty pounds a year; where he preached constantly in person, in a grave manner, with an audible voice, a style ecclesiastick, and the matter (such as it was) well suited to the intellectuals of his hearers. Some time after, a country living fell in my lord's disposal, and his lordship, who had now some encouragement given him of success in his amour, bestowed the living on Corusodes, who still kept his lectureship and residence in town; where he was a constant attendant at all meetings relating to charity, without ever contributing farther than his frequent pious exhortations. If any woman of better fashion in the parish happened to be absent from church, they were sure of a visit from him in a day or two, to chide and to dine with them.

He had a select number of poor constantly attending at the street door of his lodging, for whom he was a common solicitor to his former patroness, dropping in his own half crown among the collec-

tions, and taking it out when he disposed of the money. At a person of quality's house, he would never sit down, till he was thrice bid, and then upon the corner of the most distant chair. His whole demeanour was formal and starch, which adhered so close*, that he could never shake it off in his highest promotion.

His lord was now in high employment at court, and attended by him with the most abject assiduity; and his sister being gone off with child to a private lodging, my lord continued his graces to Corusodes, got him to be a chaplain in ordinary, and in due time a parish in town, and a dignity in the church.

He paid his curates punctually, at the lowest salary, and partly out of the communion money; but gave them good advice in abundance. He married a citizen's widow, who taught him to put out small sums at ten *per cent*, and brought him acquainted with jobbers in Change alley. By her dexterity he sold the clerkship of his parish, when it became vacant.

He kept a miserable house, but the whole blame was laid wholly upon madam; for the good doctor was always at his books, or visiting the sick, or doing other offices of charity and piety in his parish.

He treated all his inferiours of the clergy, with a most sanctified pride; was rigorously and universally censorious upon all his brethren of the gown, on their first appearance in the world, or while they continued meanly preferred; but gave large allowance to the laity of high rank, or great riches, using neither eyes nor ears for their faults: he was never

* It should be '*closely*.'

sensible

sensible of the least corruption in courts, parliaments, or ministries, but made the most favourable constructions of all publick proceedings; and power, in whatever hands or whatever party, was always secure of his most charitable opinion. He had many wholesome maxims ready to excuse all miscarriages of state; men are but men; *erunt vitia donec homines;* and *quod supra nos, nil ad nos;* with several others of equal weight.

It would lengthen my paper beyond measure to trace out the whole system of his conduct; his dreadful apprehensions of popery; his great moderation toward dissenters of all denominations; with hearty wishes, that by yielding somewhat on both sides, there might be a general union among protestants; his short, inoffensive sermons in his turns at court, and the matter exactly suited to the present juncture of prevailing opinions; the arts he used to obtain a mitre, by writing against episcopacy; and the proofs he gave of his loyalty, by palliating or defending the murder of a martyred prince.

Endowed with all these accomplishments, we leave him in the full career of success, mounting fast toward the top of the ladder ecclesiastical, which he has a fair probability to reach; without the merit of one single virtue, moderately stocked with the least valuable parts of erudition, utterly devoid of all taste, judgment, or genius; and in his grandeur, naturally choosing to haul up others after him, whose accomplishments most resemble his own, except his beloved sons, nephews, or other kindred, be in competition; or lastly, except his inclinations be diverted by those, who have power to mortify or farther advance him.

Eugenio set out from the same university, and

about the same time with Corusodes; he had the reputation of an arch lad at school, and was unfortunately possessed with a talent for poetry; on which account he received many chiding letters from his father, and grave advice from his tutor. He did not neglect his college learning, but his chief study was the authors of antiquity, with a perfect knowledge in the Greek and Roman tongues. He could never procure himself to be chosen fellow; for it was objected against him, that he had written verses, and particularly some, wherein he glanced at a certain reverend doctor famous for dulness; that he had been seen bowing to ladies, as he met them in the street; and it was proved, that once he had been found dancing in a private family, with half a dozen of both sexes.

He was the younger son to a gentleman of good birth, but small estate; and his father dying, he was driven to London to seek his fortune: he got into orders, and became reader in a parish church at twenty pounds a year, was carried by an Oxford friend to Will's coffeehouse, frequented in those days by men of wit, where in some time he had the bad luck to be distinguished. His scanty salary compelled him to run deep in debt for a new gown and cassock, and now and then forced him to write some paper of wit or humour, or preach a sermon for ten shillings, to supply his necessities. He was a thousand times recommended by his poetical friends to great persons, as a young man of excellent parts, who deserved encouragement, and received a thousand promises; but his modesty, and a generous spirit, which disdained the slavery of continual application and attendance, always disappointed him, making

making room for vigilant dunces, who were sure to be never out of sight.

He had an excellent faculty in preaching, if he were not sometimes a little too refined, and apt to trust too much to his own way of thinking and reasoning.

When, upon the vacancy of preferment, he was hardly drawn to attend upon some promising lord, he received the usual answer, that he came too late, for it had been given to another the very day before. And he had only this comfort left, that every body said, it was a thousand pities something could not be done for poor Mr. Eugenio.

The remainder of his story will be dispatched in a few words: wearied with weak hopes, and weaker pursuits, he accepted a curacy in Derbyshire of thirty pounds a year, and when he was five and forty, had the great felicity to be preferred by a friend of his father's to a vicarage worth annually sixty pounds, in the most desert parts of Lincolnshire; where, his spirit quite sunk with those reflections that solitude and disappointments bring, he married a farmer's widow, and is still alive utterly undistinguished and forgotten; only some of the neighbours have accidentally heard, that he had been a notable man in his youth.

AN

# ESSAY

ON

# MODERN EDUCATION.

FROM frequently reflecting upon the course and method of educating youth, in this and a neighbouring kingdom, with the general success and consequence thereof, I am come to this determination; that education is always the worse, in proportion to the wealth and grandeur of the parents; nor do I doubt in the least, that if the whole world were now under the dominion of one monarch (provided I might be allowed to choose where he should fix the seat of his empire) the only son and heir of that monarch, would be the worst educated mortal, that ever was born since the creation; and I doubt the same proportion will hold through all degrees and titles, from an emperor downward to the common gentry.

I do not say, that this has been always the case; for in better times it was directly otherwise, and a scholar may fill half his Greek and Roman shelves with authors of the noblest birth, as well as highest virtue: nor do I tax all nations at present with this defect, for I know there are some to be excepted, and particularly Scotland, under all the disadvantages

vantages of its climate and soil, if that happiness be not rather owing even to those very disadvantages. What is then to be done, if this reflection must fix on two countries, which will be most ready to take offence, and which, of all others, it will be least prudent or safe to offend?

But there is one circumstance yet more dangerous and lamentable: for if, according to the *postulatum* already laid down, the higher quality any youth is of, he is in greater likelihood to be worse educated; it behoves me to dread, and keep far from the verge of *scandalum magnatum*.

Retracting therefore that hazardous *postulatum*, I shall venture no farther at present than to say, that perhaps some additional care in educating the sons of nobility, and principal gentry, might not be ill employed. If this be not delivered with softness enough, I must for the future be silent.

In the mean time, let me ask only two questions, which relate to England. I ask first, how it comes about, that for above sixty years past the chief conduct of affairs has been generally placed in the hands of new men, with very few exceptions? The noblest blood of England having been shed in the grand rebellion, many great families became extinct, or were supported only by minors: when the king was restored, very few of those lords remained, who began, or at least had improved their education under the reigns of king James, or king Charles I, of which lords the two principal were the marquis of Ormond, and the earl of Southampton. The minors had, during the rebellion and usurpation, either received too much tincture of bad principles from those fanatick

natick times, or coming to age at the restoration, fell into the vices of that dissolute reign.

I date from this era the corrupt method of education among us, and in consequence thereof, the necessity the crown lay under of introducing new men into the chief conduct of publick affairs, or to the office of what we now call prime ministers; men of art, knowledge, application, and insinuation, merely for want of a supply among the nobility. They were generally (though not always) of good birth; sometimes younger brothers, at other times such, who although inheriting good estates, yet happened to be well educated, and provided with learning. Such, under that king, were Hyde, Bridgman, Clifford, Osborn, Godolphin, Ashley Cooper: few or none under the short reign of king James II: under king William, Somers, Montague, Churchill, Vernon, Boyle, and many others: under the queen, Harley, St. John, Harcourt, Trevor: who indeed were persons of the best private families, but unadorned with titles. So in the following reign, Mr. Robert Walpole was for many years prime minister, in which post he still happily continues: his brother Horace is ambassador extraordinary to France. Mr. Addison and Mr. Craggs, without the least alliance to support them, have been secretaries of state.

If the facts have been thus for above sixty years past, (whereof I could with a little farther recollection produce many more instances) I would ask again, how it has happened, that in a nation plentifully abounding with nobility, so great share in the most competent parts of publick management, has been for so long a period chiefly entrusted to commoners; unless

unless some omissions or defects of the highest import may be charged upon those, to whom the care of educating our noble youth had been committed? For, if there be any difference between human creatures in the point of natural parts, as we usually call them, it should seem, that the advantage lies on the side of children born from noble and wealthy parents; the same traditional sloth and luxury, which render their body weak and effeminate, perhaps refining and giving a freer motion to the spirits, beyond what can be expected from the gross, robust issue of meaner mortals. Add to this the peculiar advantages, which all young noblemen possess by the privileges of their birth. Such as a free access to courts, and a universal deference paid to their persons.

But as my lord Bacon charges it for a fault on princes, that they are impatient to compass ends, without giving themselves the trouble of consulting or executing the means; so perhaps it may be the disposition of young nobles, either from the indulgence of parents, tutors, and governors, or their own inactivity, that they expect the accomplishments of a good education, without the least expense of time or study to acquire them.

What I said last, I am ready to retract, for the case is infinitely worse; and the very maxims set up to direct modern education, are enough to destroy all the seeds of knowledge, honour, wisdom, and virtue among us. The current opinion prevails, that the study of Greek and Latin is loss of time; that publick schools, by mingling the sons of noblemen with those of the vulgar, engage the former in bad company; that whipping breaks the

spirits

spirits of lads well born; that universities make young men pedants; that to dance, fence, speak French, and know how to behave yourself among great persons of both sexes, comprehends the whole duty of a gentleman.

I cannot but think, this wise system of education has been much cultivated among us, by those worthies of the army, who during the last war returned from Flanders at the close of each campaign, became the dictators of behaviour, dress, and politeness, to all those youngsters, who frequent chocolate-coffee-gaminghouses, drawingrooms, operas, levees, and assemblies: where a colonel, by his pay, perquisites, and plunder, was qualified to outshine many peers of the realm; and by the influence of an exotick habit and demeanour, added to other foreign accomplishments, gave the law to the whole town, and was copied as the standard pattern of whatever was refined in dress, equipage, conversation, or diversions.

I remember, in those times, an admired original of that vocation, sitting in a coffeehouse near two gentlemen, whereof one was of the clergy, who were engaged in some discourse, that savoured of learning. This officer thought fit to interpose, and professing to deliver the sentiments of his fraternity, as well as his own (and probably he did so of too many among them) turned to the clergyman, and spoke in the following manner, "D—n me, "doctor, say what you will, the army is the only "school for gentlemen. Do you think my lord "Marlborough beat the French with Greek and "Latin? D—n me, a scholar when he comes into "good company, what is he but an ass? D—n

"me,

" me, I would be glad by G—d to see any of " your scholars with his nouns, and his verbs, " and his philosophy, and trigonometry, what a " figure he would make at a siege, or blockade, or " rencountering——D—n me," *&c.* After which he proceeded with a volley of military terms, less significant, sounding worse, and harder to be understood, than any that were ever coined by the commentators upon Aristotle. I would not here be thought to charge the soldiery with ignorance and contempt of learning, without allowing exceptions, of which I have known many; but however the worst example, especially in a great majority, will certainly prevail.

I have heard, that the late earl of Oxford, in the time of his ministry, never passed by White's chocolatehouse (the common rendezvous of infamous sharpers and noble cullies) without bestowing a curse upon that famous academy, as the bane of half the English nobility. I have likewise been told another passage concerning that great minister, which, because it gave a humorous idea of one principal ingredient in modern education, take as follows. Le Sack, the famous French dancing-master, in great admiration, asked a friend, whether it were true, that Mr. Harley was made an earl and lord treasurer? and finding it confirmed, said, " well; I wonder what the devil the queen " could see in him; for I attended him two years, " and he was the greatest dunce that ever I " taught*."

* The story of le Sack many of the dean's friends have heard him tell, as he had it from the earl himself.

Another

Another hindrance to good education, and I think the greatest of any, is that pernicious custom in rich and noble families, of entertaining French tutors in their houses. These wretched pedagogues are enjoined by the father, to take special care that the boy shall be perfect in his French; by the mother, that master must not walk till he is hot, nor be suffered to play with other boys, nor be wet in his feet, nor daub his clothes, and to see the dancing master attends constantly, and does his duty; she farther insists, that the child be not kept too long poring on his book, because he is subject to sore eyes, and of a weakly constitution.

By these methods, the young gentleman is, in every article, as fully accomplished at eight years old, as at eight and twenty, age adding only to the growth of his person and his vice; so that if you should look at him in his boyhood through the magnifying end of a perspective, and in his manhood through the other, it would be impossible to spy any difference; the same airs, the same strut, the same cock of his hat, and posture of his sword, (as far as the change of fashions will allow) the same understanding, the same compass of knowledge, with the very same absurdity, impudence, and impertinence of tongue.

He is taught from the nursery, that he must inherit a great estate, and has no need to mind his book, which is a lesson he never forgets to the end of his life. His chief solace is to steal down and play at spanfarthing with the page or young blackamoor, or little favourite footboy, one of which is his principal confident and bosom friend.

There

There is one young lord* in this town, who, by an unexampled piece of good fortune, was miraculously snatched out of the gulf of ignorance, confined to a publick school for a due term of years, well whipped when he deserved it, clad no better than his comrades, and always their playfellow on the same foot, had no precedence in the school, but what was given him by his merit, and lost it whenever he was negligent. It is well known, how many mutinies were bred at this unprecedented treatment, what complaints among his relations, and other great ones of both sexes; that his stockings with silver clocks were ravished from him; that he wore his own hair: that his dress was undistinguished; that he was not fit to appear at a ball or assembly, nor suffered to go to either: and it was with the utmost difficulty, that he became qualified for his present removal, where he may probably be farther persecuted, and possibly with success, if the firmness of a very worthy governor, and his own good dispositions will not preserve him. I confess, I cannot but wish, he may go on in the way he began; because I have a curiosity to know by so singular an experiment, whether truth, honour, justice, temperance, courage, and good sense, acquired by a school and college education, may not produce a very tolerable lad, although he should happen to fail in one or two of those accomplishments, which, in the general vogue, are held so important to the finishing of a gentleman.

It is true, I have known an academical education to have been exploded in publick assemblies; and

* Lord Mount-Cashel, bred at Dr. Sheridan's school.

have heard more than one or two persons of high rank declare, they could learn nothing more at Oxford and Cambridge, than to drink ale and smoke tobacco; wherein I firmly believed them, and could have added some hundred examples from my own observation in one of those universities; but they all were of young heirs sent thither only for form; either from schools, where they were not suffered by their careful parents to stay above three months in the year; or from under the management of French family tutors, who yet often attended them to their college, to prevent all possibility of their improvement: but I never yet knew any one person of quality, who followed his studies at the university, and carried away his just proportion of learning, that was not ready upon all occasions to celebrate and defend that course of education, and to prove a patron of learned men.

There is one circumstance in a learned education, which ought to have much weight, even with those who have no learning at all. The books read at school and college are full of incitements to virtue, and discouragements from vice, drawn from the wisest reasons, the strongest motives, and the most influencing examples. Thus young minds are filled early with an inclination to good, and an abhorrence of evil, both which increase in them, according to the advances they make in literature; and although they may be, and too often are, drawn by the temptations of youth, and the opportunities of a large fortune, into some irregularities, when they come forward into the great world, yet it is ever with reluctance and compunction of mind; because their bias to virtue still continues. They may

may stray sometimes, out of infirmity or compliance; but they will soon return to the right road, and keep it always in view. I speak only of those excesses, which are too much the attendants of youth and warmer blood; for as to the points of honour, truth, justice, and other noble gifts of the mind, wherein the temperature of the body has no concern, they are seldom or ever known to be wild.

I have engaged myself very unwarily in too copious a subject for so short a paper. The present scope I would aim at, is, to prove that some proportion of human knowledge appears requisite to those, who by their birth or fortune are called to the making of laws, and in a subordinate way to the execution of them; and that such knowledge is not to be obtained, without a miracle, under the frequent, corrupt, and sottish methods of educating those, who are born to wealth or titles. For I would have it remembered, that I do by no means confine these remarks to young persons of noble birth; the same errours running through all families, where there is wealth enough to afford, that their sons (at least the eldest) may be good for nothing. Why should my son be a scholar, when it is not intended that he should live by his learning? By this rule, if what is commonly said be true, that "money answers all "things," why should my son be honest, temperate, just, or charitable, since he has no intention to depend upon any of these qualities for a maintenance?

When all is done, perhaps, upon the whole, the matter is not so bad as I would make it; and God, who works good out of evil, acting only by the ordinary course and rule of nature, permits this continual circulation of human things, for his own un-

searchable ends. The father grows rich by avarice, injustice, oppression; he is a tyrant in the neighbourhood over slaves and beggars, whom he calls his tenants. Why should he desire to have qualities infused into his son, which himself never possessed, or knew, or found the want of, in the acquisition of his wealth? The son, bred in sloth and idleness, becomes a spendthrift, a cully, a profligate, and goes out of the world a beggar, as his father came in*: thus the former is punished for his own sins, as well as for those of the latter. The dunghill, having raised a huge mushroom of short duration, is now spread to enrich other men's lands. It is indeed of worse consequence, where noble families are gone to decay; because their titles and privileges outlive their estates: and politicians tell us, that nothing is more dangerous to the publick, than a numerous nobility without merit or fortune. But even here God has likewise prescribed some remedy in the order of nature; so many great families coming to an end, by the sloth, luxury, and abandoned lusts, which enervated their breed through every succession, producing gradually a more effeminate race wholly unfit for propagation.

* It should be—'as his father came *into* it,'

A

# LETTER

TO A

## VERY YOUNG LADY

ON HER

## MARRIAGE*.

MADAM,

THE hurry and impertinence of receiving and paying visits on account of your marriage being now over, you are beginning to enter into a course of life, where you will want much advice to divert you from falling into many errours, fopperies, and follies, to which your sex is subject. I have always born an entire friendship to your father and mother; and the person they have chosen for your husband, has

* This letter ought to be read by all new married women, and will be read with pleasure and advantage by the most distinguished and accomplished ladies. It was supposed to be addressed to lady Betty Moore, youngest daughter of Henry earl of Drogheda, on her marriage to Mr. George Rochfort; and (if we may credit Mrs. Pilkington) was not taken by the lady as a compliment either on herself or the sex. Memoirs, vol. i. p. 64.—Mr. Faulkner, however, supposes the letter was rather addressed to the lady of Mr. John Rochfort, who married a daughter of Dr. Staunton, a master in chancery.

been for some years past my particular favourite; I have long wished you might come together, because I hoped, that from the goodness of your disposition, and by following the counsel of wise friends, you might in time make yourself worthy of him. Your parents were so far in the right, that they did not produce you much into the world, whereby you avoided many wrong steps, which others have taken, and have fewer ill impressions to be removed: but they failed, as it is generally the case, in too much neglecting to cultivate your mind; without which, it is impossible to acquire or preserve the friendship and esteem of a wise man, who soon grows weary of acting the lover, and treating his wife like a mistress, but wants a reasonable companion, and a true friend through every stage of his life. It must be therefore your business to qualify yourself for those offices; wherein I will not fail to be your director, as long as I shall think you deserve it, by letting you know how you are to act, and what you ought to avoid.

And beware of despising or neglecting my instructions, whereon will depend not only your making a good figure in the world, but your own real happiness, as well as that of the person, who ought to be dearest to you.

I must therefore desire you, in the first place, to be very slow in changing the modest behaviour of a virgin: it is usual in young wives, before they have been many weeks married, to assume a bold forward look and manner of talking; as if they intended to signify in all companies that they were no longer girls, and consequently that their whole demeanour,

before

before they got a husband, was all but a countenance and constraint upon their nature: whereas, I suppose, if the votes of wise men were gathered, a very great majority would be in favour of those ladies, who, after they were entered into that state, rather chose to double their portion of modesty and reservedness.

I must likewise warn you strictly against the least degree of fondness to your husband before any witness whatsoever, even before your nearest relations, or the very maids of your chamber. This proceeding is so exceeding odious and disgustful to all, who have either good breeding or good sense, that they assign two very unamiable reasons for it; the one is gross hypocrisy, and the other has too bad a name to mention. If there is any difference to be made, your husband is the lowest person in company, either at home or abroad, and every gentleman present has a better claim to all marks of civility and distinction from you. Conceal your esteem and love in your own breast, and reserve your kind looks and language for private hours, which are so many in the four and twenty, that they will afford time to employ a passion as exalted as any that was ever described in a French romance.

Upon this head I should likewise advise you to differ in practice from those ladies, who affect abundance of uneasiness, while their husbands are abroad; start with every knock at the door, and ring the bell incessantly for the servants to let in their master; will not eat a bit at dinner or supper, if the husband happens to stay out; and receive him at his return with such a medley of chiding and kindness, and catechising him where he has been, that a shrew

from Billingsgate would be a more easy and eligible companion.

Of the same leaven are those wives, who, when their husbands are gone a journey, must have a letter every post upon pain of fits and hystericks; and a day must be fixed for their return home without the least allowance for business, or sickness, or accidents, or weather: upon which I can only say, that in my observation, those ladies, who are apt to make the greatest clutter on such occasions, would liberally have paid a messenger for bringing them news, that their husbands had broken their necks on the road.

You will perhaps be offended, when I advise you to abate a little of that violent passion for fine clothes, so predominant in your sex. It is a little hard, that ours, for whose sake you wear them, are not admitted to be of your council. I may venture to assure you, that we will make an abatement at any time of four pounds a yard in a brocade, if the ladies will but allow a suitable addition of care in the cleanliness and sweetness of their persons. For the satirical part of mankind will needs believe, that it is not impossible to be very fine and very filthy; and that the capacities of a lady are sometimes apt to fall short, in cultivating cleanliness and finery together. I shall only add, upon so tender a subject, what a pleasant gentleman said concerning a silly woman of quality; that nothing could make her supportable but cutting off her head, for his ears were offended by her tongue, and his nose by her hair and teeth.

I am wholly at a loss how to advise you in the choice of company, which however is a point of as great importance as any in your life. If your general acquaintance

acquaintance be among ladies, who are your equals or superiours, provided they have nothing of what is commonly called an ill reputation, you think you are safe; and this, in the style of the world, will pass for good company. Whereas, I am afraid it will be hard for you to pick out one female acquaintance in this town, from whom you will not be in manifest danger of contracting some foppery, affectation, vanity, folly, or vice. Your only safe way of conversing with them is, by a firm resolution to proceed in your practice and behaviour directly contrary to whatever they shall say or do: and this I take to be a good general rule, with very few exceptions. For instance, in the doctrines they usually deliver to young married women for managing their husbands; their several accounts of their own conduct in that particular, to recommend it to your imitation; the reflections they make upon others of their sex for acting differently; their directions, how to come off with victory upon any dispute or quarrel you may have with your husband; the arts, by which you may discover and practise upon his weak side; when to work by flattery and insinuation, when to melt him with tears, and when to engage with a high hand: in these, and a thousand other cases, it will be prudent to retain as many of their lectures in your memory as you can, and then determine to act in full opposition to them all.

I hope, your husband will interpose his authority to limit you in the trade of visiting: half a dozen fools are, in all conscience, as many as you should require; and it will be sufficient for you to see them twice a year; for I think the fashion does not exact, that visits should be paid to friends.

I advise,

I advise, that your company at home should consist of men, rather than women. To say the truth, I never yet knew a tolerable woman to be fond of her own sex. I confess when both are mixed and well chosen, and put their best qualities forward, there may be an intercourse of civility and good will; which, with the addition of some degree of sense, can make conversation or any amusement agreeable. But a knot of ladies, got together by themselves, is a very school of impertinence and detraction, and it is well if those be the worst.

Let your men acquaintance be of your husband's choice, and not recommended to you by any she companions; because they will certainly fix a coxcomb upon you, and it will cost you some time and pains, before you can arrive at the knowledge of distinguishing such a one from a man of sense.

Never take a favourite waiting maid into your cabinet council, to entertain you with histories of those ladies, whom she has formerly served, of their diversions and their dresses; to insinuate how great a fortune you brought, and how little you are allowed to squander; to appeal to her from your husband, and to be determined by her judgment, because you are sure it will be always for you; to receive and discard servants by her approbation or dislike; to engage you, by her insinuations, in misunderstandings with your best friends; to represent all things in false colours, and to be the common emissary of scandal.

But the grand affair of your life will be to gain and preserve the friendship and esteem of your husband. You are married to a man of good education and learning, of an excellent understanding, and an exact taste. It is true, and it is happy for you,

you, that these qualities in him are adorned with great modesty, a most amiable sweetness of temper, and an unusual disposition to sobriety and virtue: but neither good nature nor virtue will suffer him to esteem you against his judgment; and although he is not capable of using you ill, yet you will in time grow a thing indifferent, and perhaps contemptible; unless you can supply the loss of youth and beauty, with more durable qualities. You have but a very few years to be young and handsome in the eyes of the world; and as few months to be so in the eyes of a husband, who is not a fool; for I hope you do not still dream of charms and raptures, which marriage ever did, and ever will, put a sudden end to. Besides, yours was a match of prudence and common good liking, without any mixture of that ridiculous passion, which has no being but in playbooks and romances.

You must therefore use all endeavours to attain to some degree of those accomplishments, which your husband most values in other people, and for which he is most valued himself. You must improve your mind by closely pursuing such a method of study, as I shall direct or approve of. You must get a collection of history and travels, which I will recommend to you, and spend some hours every day in reading them, and making extracts from them, if your memory be weak. You must invite persons of knowledge and understanding to an acquaintance with you, by whose conversation you may learn to correct your taste and judgment; and when you can bring yourself to comprehend and relish the good sense of others, you will arrive in time to think rightly yourself, and to become a reasonable

reasonable and agreeable companion. This must produce in your husband a true rational love and esteem for you, which old age will not diminish. He will have a regard for your judgment and opinion in matters of the greatest weight; you will be able to entertain each other without a third person to relieve you by finding discourse. The endowments of your mind will even make your person more agreeable to him; and when you are alone, your time will not lie heavy upon your hands, for want of some trifling amusement.

As little respect as I have for the generality of your sex, it has sometimes moved me with pity to see the lady of the house forced to withdraw immediately after dinner, and this in families where there is not much drinking; as if it were an established maxim, that women are uncapable of all conversation. In a room where both sexes meet, if the men are discoursing upon any general subject, the ladies never think it their business to partake in what passes, but in a separate club entertain each other with the price and choice of lace and silk, and what dresses they liked or disapproved at the church or the playhouse. And when you are among yourselves, how naturally, after the first compliments, do you apply your hands to each others lappets, and ruffles, and mantuas; as if the whole business of your lives, and the publick concern of the world, depended upon the cut or colour of your dress. As divines say, that some people take more pains to be damned, than it would cost them to be saved; so your sex employs more thought, memory, and application to be fools, than would serve to make them wise and useful. When I reflect

flect on this, I cannot conceive you to be human creatures, but a sort of species hardly a degree above a monkey; who has more diverting tricks than any of you, is an animal less mischievous and expensive, might in time be a tolerable critick in velvet and brocade, and, for aught I know, would equally become them.

I would have you look upon finery as a necessary folly; which all great ladies did, whom I have ever known: I do not desire you to be out of the fashion, but to be the last and least in it. I expect, that your dress shall be one degree lower than your fortune can afford; and in your own heart I would wish you to be an utter contemner of all distinctions, which a finer petticoat can give you; because, it will neither make you richer, handsomer, younger, better natured, more virtuous or wise, than if it hung upon a peg.

If you are in company with men of learning, though they happen to discourse of arts and sciences out of your compass, yet you will gather more advantage by listening to them, than from all the nonsense and frippery of your own sex; but if they be men of breeding, as well as learning, they will seldom engage in any conversation, where you ought not to be a hearer, and in time have your part. If they talk of the manners and customs of the several kingdoms of Europe, of travels into remoter nations, of the state of your own country, or of the great men and actions of Greece and Rome; if they give their judgment upon English and French writers either in verse or prose, or of the nature and limits of virtue and vice; it is a shame for an English lady not to relish such discourses,

courses, not to improve by them, and endeavour by reading and information to have her share in those entertainments, rather than turn aside, as it is the usual custom, and consult with the woman, who sits next her, about a new cargo of fans.

It is a little hard, that not one gentleman's daughter in a thousand should be brought to read or understand her own natural tongue, or to be judge of the easiest books, that are written in it; as any one may find, who can have the patience to hear them, when they are disposed to mangle a play or a novel; where the least word out of the common road is sure to disconcert them, and it is no wonder, when they are not so much as taught to spell in their childhood, nor can ever attain to it in their whole lives. I advise you therefore to read aloud, more or less, every day to your husband, if he will permit you, or to any other friend (but not a female one) who is able to set you right; and as for spelling, you may compass it in time by making collections from the books you read.

I know very well, that those who are commonly called learned women, have lost all manner of credit by their impertinent talkativeness and conceit of themselves; but there is an easy remedy for this, if you once consider, that after all the pains you may be at, you never can arrive in point of learning to the perfection of a schoolboy. The reading I would advise you to, is only for improvement of your own good sense, which will never fail of being mended by discretion. It is a wrong method, and ill choice of books, that makes those learned ladies just so much the worse for what they have read: and therefore it shall be my care to direct

direct you better, a task for which I take myself to be not ill qualified; because I have spent more time, and have had more opportunities than many others, to observe and discover, from what source the various follies of women are derived.

Pray observe, how insignificant things are the common race of ladies, when they have passed their youth and beauty; how contemptible they appear to the men, and yet more contemptible to the younger part of their own sex; and have no relief, but in passing their afternoons in visits, where they are never acceptable; and their evenings at cards among each other; while the former part of the day is spent in spleen and envy, or in vain endeavours to repair by art and dress the ruins of time. Whereas I have known ladies at sixty, to whom all the polite part of the court and town paid their addresses without any farther view, than that of enjoying the pleasure of their conversation.

I am ignorant of any one quality, that is amiable in a man, which is not equally so in a woman: I do not except even modesty and gentleness of nature. Nor do I know one vice or folly, which is not equally detestable in both. There is indeed one infirmity, which is generally allowed you, I mean that of cowardice; yet there should seem to be something very capricious, that when women profess their admiration for a colonel or a captain, on account of his valour, they should fancy it a very graceful becoming quality in themselves, to be afraid of their own shadows; to scream in a barge, when the weather is calmest, or in a coach at the ring; to run from a cow at a hundred yards distance; to fall into fits at the sight of a spider, an earwig, or a frog. At least,

least, if cowardice be a sign of cruelty, (as it is generally granted) I can hardly think it an accomplishment so desirable, as to be thought worth improving by affectation.

And as the same virtues equally become both sexes, so there is no quality, whereby women endeavour to distinguish themselves from men, for which they are not just so much the worse, except that only of reservedness; which, however, as you generally manage it, is nothing else but affectation or hypocrisy. For, as you cannot too much discountenance those of our sex, who presume to take unbecoming liberties before you; so you ought to be wholly unconstrained in the company of deserving men, when you have had sufficient experience of their discretion.

There is never wanting in this town a tribe of bold, swaggering, rattling ladies, whose talents pass among coxcombs for wit and humour; their excellency lies in rude shocking expressions, and what they call running a man down. If a gentleman in their company happens to have any blemish in his birth or person, if any misfortune has befallen his family or himself, for which he is ashamed, they will be sure to give him broad hints of it without any provocation. I would recommend you to the acquaintance of a common prostitute, rather than to that of such termagants as these. I have often thought, that no man is obliged to suppose such creatures to be women, but to treat them like insolent rascals disguised in female habits, who ought to be stripped and kicked down stairs.

I will add one thing, although it be a little out of place, which is to desire, that you will learn to value

value and esteem your husband for those good qualities, which he really possesses, and not to fancy others in him, which he certainly has not. For, although this latter is generally understood to be a mark of love, yet it is indeed nothing but affectation or ill judgment. It is true, he wants so very few accomplishments, that you are in no great danger of erring on this side; but my caution is occasioned by a lady of your acquaintance, married to a very valuable person, whom yet she is so unfortunate, as to be always commending for those perfections, to which he can least pretend.

I can give you no advice upon the article of expense; only I think, you ought to be well informed how much your husband's revenue amounts to, and be so good a computer, as to keep within it in that part of the management, which falls to your share; and not to put yourself in the number of those politick ladies, who think they gain a great point, when they have teased their husbands to buy them a new equipage, a laced head, or a fine petticoat, without once considering what long score remained unpaid to the butcher.

I desire you will keep this letter in your cabinet, and often examine impartially your whole conduct by it: and so God bless you, and make you a fair example to your sex, and a perpetual comfort to your husband and your parent. I am, with great truth and affection,

MADAM,

Your most faithful friend,
and humble servant.

THE

WONDERFUL

# WONDER

OF

# WONDERS.

THERE is a certain person lately arrived at this city, of whom it is very proper the world should be informed. His character may perhaps be thought very inconsistent, improbable, and unnatural; however I intend to draw it with the utmost regard to truth. This I am the better qualified to do, because he is a sort of dependant upon our family, and almost of the same age; though I cannot directly say, I have ever seen him. He is a native of this country, and has lived long among us; but, what appears wonderful, and hardly credible, was never seen before, by any mortal.

It is true indeed, he always chooses the lowest place in company; and contrives it so, to keep out of sight. It is reported however, that in his younger days he was frequently exposed to view, but always against his will, and was sure to smart for it.

As to his family, he came into the world a younger brother, being of six children the fourth in order

order of (1) birth; of which the eldest is now head of the house; the second and third carry arms; but the two youngest are only footmen: some indeed add, that he has likewise a twin brother, who lives over against him and keeps a victuallinghouse (2); he has the reputation to be a close, griping, squeezing fellow; and that when his bags are full, he is often needy; yet when the fit takes him, as fast as he gets, he lets it fly.

When in office, no one discharges himself, or does his business better. He has sometimes strained hard for an honest livelihood; and never got a bit, till every body else had done.

One practice appears very blamable in him; that every morning he privately frequents unclean houses, where any modest person would blush to be seen. And although this be generally known, yet the world, as censorious as it is, has been so kind to overlook this infirmity in him. To deal impartially, it must be granted that he is too great a lover of himself, and very often consults his own ease, at the expense of his best friends: but this is one of his blind sides; and the best of men I fear are not without them.

He has been constituted by the higher powers in the station of receiver general, in which employment some have censured him for playing fast and loose. He is likewise overseer of the golden mines which he daily inspects, when his health will permit him.

He was long bred under a master of arts (3), who instilled good principles into him, but these were soon corrupted. I know not whether this deserves mention; that he is so very capricious, as to

take it for an equal affront, to talk either of kissing or kicking him, which has occasioned a thousand quarrels: however no body was ever so great a sufferer for faults, which he neither was, nor possibly could be guilty of.

In his religion he has thus much of the quaker, that he stands always covered, even in the presence of the king; in most other points a perfect idolater (4), although he endeavours to conceal it; for he is known to offer daily sacrifices to certain subterraneous nymphs, whom he worships in an humble posture, prone on his face, and stript stark naked; and so leaves his offerings behind him, which the priests (5) of those goddesses are careful enough to remove, upon certain seasons, with the utmost privacy at midnight, and from thence maintain themselves and families. In all urgent necessities and pressures, he applies himself to these deities, and sometimes even in the streets and highways, from an opinion that those powers have an influence in all places, although their peculiar residence be in caverns under ground. Upon these occasions, the fairest ladies will not refuse to lend their hands to assist him: for, although they are ashamed to have him seen in their company, or even so much as to hear him named; yet it is well known, that he is one of their constant followers.

In politicks, he always submits to what is uppermost; but he peruses pamphlets on both sides with great impartiality, though seldom till every body else has done with them.

His learning is of a mixed kind, and he may properly be called a *helluo librorum*, or another Jacobus de Voragine; though his studies are chiefly confined

to

to schoolmen, commentators, and German divines, together with modern poetry and criticks: and he is an atomick philosopher, strongly maintaining a void in nature, which he seems to have fairly proved by many experiments.

I shall now proceed to describe some peculiar qualities, which, in several instances, seem to distinguish this person from the common race of other mortals.

His grandfather was a member of the rump parliament, as the grandson is of the present, where he often rises, sometimes grumbles, but never speaks. However he lets nothing pass willingly, but what is well digested. His courage is indisputable, for he will take the boldest man alive by the nose.

He is generally the first abed in the family, and the last up; which is to be lamented; because when he happens to rise before the rest, it has been thought to forebode some good fortune to his superiours.

As wisdom is acquired by age, so, by every new wrinkle (6) in his face, he is reported to gain some new knowledge.

In him we may observe the true effects and consequences of tyranny in a state: for, as he is a great oppressor of all below him, so there is nobody more oppressed by those above him; yet, in his time, he has been so highly in favour, that many illustrious persons have been entirely indebted to him for their preferments.

He has discovered, from his own experience, the true point wherein all human actions, projects, and designs do chiefly terminate; and how mean and sordid they are at the bottom.

It behoves the publick to keep him quiet; for his frequent murmurs are a certain sign of intestine tumults.

No philosopher ever lamented more the luxury, for which these nations are so justly taxed; it has been known to cost him tears of blood (7): for in his own nature he is far from being profuse; though indeed he never stays a night at a gentleman's house, without leaving something behind him.

He receives with great submission whatever his patrons think fit to give him; and when they lay heavy burdens upon him, which is frequently enough, he gets rid of them as soon as he can; but not without some labour, and much grumbling.

He is a perpetual hanger on; yet nobody knows how to be without him. He patiently suffers himself to be kept under, but loves to be well used, and in that case will sacrifice his vitals to give you ease: and he has hardly one acquaintance, for whom he has not been bound; yet, as far as we can find, was never known to lose any thing by it.

He is observed to be very unquiet in the company of a Frenchman in new clothes, or a young coquette. (8)

He is, in short, the subject of much mirth and raillery, which he seems to take well enough; though it has not been observed, that ever any good thing came from himself.

There is so general an opinion of his justice, that sometimes very hard cases are left to his decision: and while he sits upon them, he carries himself exactly even between both sides, except where some knotty point arises; and then he is observed to lean a little

a little to the right or left, as the matter inclines him; but his reasons for it are so manifest and convincing, that every man approves them.

## POSTSCRIPT.

GENTLE READER,

THOUGH I am not insensible how many thousand persons have been, and still are, with great dexterity handling this subject, and no less aware of what infinite reams of paper have been laid out upon it; however, in my opinion no man living has touched it with greater nicety, and more delicate turns than our author. But, because there is some intended obscurity in this relation; and curiosity, inquisitive of secrets, may possibly not enter into the bottom and depth of the subject, it was thought not improper to take off the veil, and gain the reader's favour by enlarging his insight. ARS *enim non habet inimicum, nisi ignorantem.* It is well known, that it has been the policy of all times, to deliver down important subjects by emblem and riddle, and not to suffer the knowledge of truth to be derived to us in plain and simple terms, which are generally as soon forgotten as conceived. For this reason, the heathen religion is mostly couched under mythology. For the like reason (this being a FUNDAMENTAL in its kind) the author has thought fit to wrap up his treasure in clean linen, which it is our business to lay open, and set in a due light; for I have observed, upon any accidental discovery, the least glimpse has given a great diversion to the eager spectator, as many ladies could testify, were it proper, or the case would admit.

The politest companies have vouchsafed to smile at the bare name; and some people of fashion have been so little scrupulous of bringing it in play, that it was the usual saying of a knight, and a man of good breeding, that whenever he rose, his a-se rose with him.

## NOTES.

(1) He alludes to the manner of our birth, the head and arms appear before the posteriours and the two feet, which he calls the footmen.

(2) Victualling house.] The belly, which receives and digests our nourishment.

(3) Master of arts.] Persius: *magister artis, ingeniique largitor venter.*

(4) Idolater.] Alludes to the sacrifices offered by the Romans to the goddess Cloacina.

(5) Priests.] Gold-finders, who perform their office in the night-time: but our author farther seems to have an eye to the custom of the heathen priests stealing the offerings in the night; of which see more in the story of Bel and the Dragon.

(6) Wrinkle.] This refers to a proverb—you have one wrinkle in your a-se more than you had before.

(7) Tears of blood.] Hemorrhoids, according to the physicians, are a frequent consequence of intemperance.

(8) Unquiet.] Their tails being generally observed to be most restless.

THE

# WONDER

OF ALL THE

# WONDERS,

THAT EVER THE WORLD WONDERED AT.

FOR ALL PERSONS OF QUALITY AND OTHERS.

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NEWLY arrived at this city of Dublin, the famous artist John Emanuel Schoitz, who, to the great surprise and satisfaction of all spectators, is ready to do the following wonderful performances; the like before never seen in this kingdom.

He will heat a bar of iron red hot, and thrust it into a barrel of gunpowder before all the company, and yet it shall not take fire.

He lets any gentleman charge a blunderbuss with the same gunpowder, and twelve leaden bullets, which blunderbuss the said artist discharges full in the face of the said company, without the least hurt, the bullets sticking in the wall behind them.

He takes any gentleman's own sword, and runs it through the said gentleman's body, so that the point appears bloody at the back to all the spectators; then he takes out the sword, wipes it clean, and returns it to the owner, who receives no manner of hurt.

He

He takes a pot of scalding oil, and throws it by great ladlefuls directly at the ladies, without spoiling their clothes or burning their skins.

He takes any person of quality's child from two years old to six, and lets the child's own father or mother take a pike in their hands; then the artist takes the child in his arms, and tosses it upon the point of the pike, where it sticks to the great satisfaction of all spectators; and is then taken off without so much as a hole in his coat.

He mounts upon a scaffold just over the spectators, and from thence throws down a great quantity of large tiles and stones, which fall like so many pillows, without so much as discomposing either perukes or headdresses.

He takes any person of quality up to the said scaffold, which person pulls off his shoes, and leaps nine foot directly down on a board prepared on purpose, full of sharp spikes six inches long, without hurting his feet or damaging his stockings.

He places the said board on a chair, upon which a lady sits down with another lady in her lap, while the spikes, instead of entering into the under lady's flesh, will feel like a velvet cushion.

He takes any person of quality's footman, ties a rope about his bare neck, and draws him up by pullies to the ceiling, and there keeps him hanging as long as his master or the company pleases, the said footman, to the wonder and delight of all beholders, having a pot of ale in one hand and a pipe in the other; and when he is let down, there will not appear the least mark of the cord about his neck.

He bids a lady's maid put her finger into a cup of

of clear liquor like water, upon which her face and both her hands are immediately withered like an old woman of fourscore; her belly swells as if she were within a week of her time, and her legs are as thick as millposts: but upon putting her finger into another cup, she becomes as young and handsome as she was before.

He gives any gentleman leave to drive forty twelvepenny nails up to the head in a porter's backside, and then places the said porter on a loadstone chair, which draws out every nail, aud the porter feels no pain.

He likewise draws the teeth of half a dozen gentlemen, mixes and jumbles them in a hat, gives any person leave to blindfold him, and returns each their own, and fixes them as well as ever.

With his forefinger and thumb, he thrusts several gentlemen's and ladies' eyes out of their heads, without the least pain, at which time they see an unspeakable number of beautiful colours; and after they are entertained to the full, he places them again in their proper sockets, without any damage to the sight.

He lets any gentleman drink a quart of hot melted lead, and by a draught of prepared liquor, of which he takes part himself, he makes the said lead pass through the said gentleman, before all the spectators, without any damage; after which it is produced in a cake to the company.

With many other wonderful performances of art, too tedious here to mention.

The said artist has performed before most kings and princes in Europe with great applause.

He performs every day (except Sundays) from ten

ten of the clock to one in the forenoon; and from four till seven in the evening, at the New Inn in Smithfield.

The first seat a British crown, the second a British halfcrown, and the lowest a British shilling.

N. B. The best hands in town are to play at the said show.

THE

# TATLER.

## NUMBER LXVI.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1709.

Will's Coffeehouse, Sept. 9.

THE subject of the discourse this evening was Eloquence and graceful Action. Lysander, who is something particular in his way of thinking and speaking, told us, a man could not be eloquent without action: for the deportment of the body, the turn of the eye, and an apt sound to every word that is uttered, must all conspire to make an accomplished speaker. Action in one that speaks in publick, is the same thing as a good mien in ordinary life. Thus, as a certain insensibility in the countenance recommends a sentence of humour and jest, so it must be a very lively consciousness that gives grace to great sentiments. The jest is to be a thing unexpected; therefore your undesigning manner is a beauty in expressions of mirth: but when you are to talk on a set subject, the more you are moved yourself, the more you will move others.

There is, said he, a remarkable example of that kind. Æschines, a famous orator of antiquity, had pleaded at Athens in a great cause against Demosthenes; but having lost it, retired to Rhodes: Eloquence

quence was then the quality most admired among men, and the magistrates of that place, having heard he had a copy of the speech of Demosthenes, desired him to repeat both their pleadings. After his own, he recited also the oration of his antagonist. The people expressed their admiration of both, but more of that of Demosthenes. If you are, said he, thus touched with hearing only what that great orator said, how would you have been affected had you seen him speak? for he who hears Demosthenes only, loses much the better part of the oration. Certain it is, that they who speak gracefully, are very lamely represented in having their speeches read or repeated by unskilful people; for there is something native to each man, so inherent to his thoughts and sentiments, which it is hardly possible for another to give a true idea of. You may observe in common talk, when a sentence of any man's is repeated, an acquaintance of his shall immediately observe, "That is so like him, methinks I "see how he looked when he said it."

But of all the people on the earth, there are none who puzzle me so much as the clergy of Great Britain, who are, I believe, the most learned body of men now in the world; and yet this art of speaking, with the proper ornaments of voice and gesture, is wholly neglected among them; and I will engage, were a deaf man to behold the greater part of them preach, he would rather think they were reading the contents only of some discourse they intended to make, than actually in the body of an oration, even when they were upon matters of such a nature, as one would believe it were impossible to think of without emotion.

I own,

I own there are exceptions to this general observation, and that the dean * we heard the other day together is an orator. He has so much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to say to them; and has so soft and graceful a behaviour, that it must attract your attention. His person, it is to be confessed, is no small recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not losing that advantage; and adding to the propriety of speech, which might pass the criticism of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demosthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has charmed many of his audience who could not be intelligent hearers of his discourse, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is useful with the most exact and honest skill: he never attempts your passions, until he has convinced your reason. All the objections which he can form, are laid open and dispersed, before he uses the least vehemence in his sermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very soon wins your heart; and never pretends to show the beauty of holiness, until he has convinced you of the truth of it.

Would every one of our clergymen be thus careful to recommend truth and virtue in their proper figures, and show so much concern for them as to give them all additional force they were able; it is not possible that nonsense should have so many hearers as you find it has in dissenting congregations,

* "When the amiable character of the dean is acknowledged to "be drawn for Dr. Atterbury, I hope I need say no more as to my "impartiality." Mr. Steele's Preface to his fourth volume of TATLERS. N.

for

for no reason in the world, but because it is spoken extempore: for ordinary minds are wholly governed by their eyes and ears; and there is no way to come at their hearts, but by power over their imaginations.

There is my friend and merry companion Daniel: he knows a great deal better than he speaks, and can form a proper discourse as well as any orthodox neighbour. But he knows very well, that to bawl out, My beloved! and the words grace! regeneration! sanctification! a new light! the day! the day! ay, my beloved, the day! or rather the night! the night is coming! and judgment will come, when we least think of it! and so forth—He knows, to be vehement is the only way to come at his audience. Daniel, when he sees my friend Greenhat come in, can give a good hint, and cry out, This is only for the saints! the regenerated! By this force of action, though mixed with all the incoherence and ribaldry imaginable, Daniel can laugh at his diocesan, and grow fat by voluntary subscription, while the parson of the parish goes to law for half his dues. Daniel will tell you, It is not the shepherd, but the sheep with the bell, which the flock follows.

Another thing, very wonderful this learned body should omit, is, learning to read; which is a most necessary part of eloquence in one who is to serve at the altar: for there is no man but must be sensible, that the lazy tone, and inarticulate sound of our common readers, depreciates the most proper form of words that were ever extant in any nation or language, to speak their own wants, or his power from whom we ask relief.

There cannot be a greater instance of the power of action than in little parson Dapper, who is the common

common relief to all the lazy pulpits in town. This smart youth has a very good memory, a quick eye, and a clean handkerchief. Thus equipped, he opens his text, shuts his book fairly, shows he has no notes in his Bible, opens both palms, and shows all is fair there too. Thus, with a decisive air, my young man goes on without hesitation; and though from the beginning to the end of his pretty discourse, he has not used one proper gesture, yet, at the conclusion, the churchwarden pulls his gloves from off his hands; "Pray, who is this extraordinary young "man?" Thus the force of action is such, that it is more prevalent, even when improper, than all the reason and argument in the world without it.—This gentleman concluded his discourse by saying, I do not doubt but if our preachers would learn to speak, and our readers to read, within six months time, we should not have a dissenter within a mile of a church in Great Britain.

## THE TATLER. No. 67.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 13, 1709.

From my own apartments, SEPTEMBER 12.

MY province is much larger than at first sight men would imagine, and I shall lose no part of my jurisdiction, which extends not only to futurity, but also is retrospect to things past; and the behaviour of

persons, who have long ago acted their parts, is as much liable to my examination, as that of my own contemporaries.

In order to put the whole race of mankind in their proper distinctions, according to the opinion their cohabitants conceived of them, I have with very much care, and depth of meditation, thought fit to erect a chamber of Fame; and established certain rules, which are to be observed in admitting members into this illustrious society.

In this chamber of Fame there are to be three tables, but of different lengths; the first is to contain exactly twelve persons; the second, twenty; and the third, a hundred. This is reckoned to be the full number of those who have any competent share of fame. At the first of these tables are to be placed, in their order, the twelve most famous persons in the world; not with regard to the things they are famous for, but according to the degree of their fame, whether in valour, wit, or learning. Thus, if a scholar be more famous than a soldier, he is to sit above him. Neither must any preference be given to virtue, if the person be not equally famous.

When the first table is filled, the next in renown must be seated at the second, and so on in like manner to the number of twenty; as also in the same order at the third, which is to hold a hundred. At these tables, no regard is to be had to seniority: for if Julius Cæsar shall be judged more famous than Romulus and Scipio, he must have the precedence. No person who has not been dead a hundred years, must be offered to a place at any of these tables: and because this is altogether a lay society, and that sacred

sacred persons move upon greater motives than that of fame, no persons celebrated in Holy Writ, or any ecclesiastical man whatsoever, are to be introduced here.

At the lower end of the room is to be a sidetable for persons of great fame, but dubious existence; such as Hercules, Theseus, Æneas, Achilles, Hector, and others. But because it is apprehended, that there may be great contention about precedence, the proposer humbly desires the opinion of the learned, toward his assistance in placing every person according to his rank, that none may have just occasion of offence. The merits of the cause shall be judged by plurality of voices.

For the more impartial execution of this important affair, it is desired, that no man will offer his favourite hero, scholar, or poet; and that the learned will be pleased to send to Mr. Bickerstaff, at Mr. Morphew's, near Stationers hall, their several lists for the first table only, and in the order they would have them placed; after which, the proposer will compare the several lists, and make another for the publick, wherein every name shall be ranked according to the voices it has had. Under this chamber is to be a dark vault, for the same number of persons of evil fame.

It is humbly submitted to consideration, whether the project would not be better, if the persons of true fame meet in a middle room, those of dubious existence in an upper room, and those of evil fame in a lower dark room.

It is to be noted, that no historians are to be admitted at any of these tables; because they are appointed to conduct the several persons to their

seats, and are to be made use of as ushers to the assemblies.

I call upon the learned world to send me their assistance toward this design, it being a matter of too great moment for any one person to determine. But I do assure them, their lists shall be examined with great fidelity, and those that are exposed to the publick, made with all the caution imaginable.

## THE TATLER. No. 74.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 29, 1709.

Grecian Coffeehouse, SEPT. 29.

THIS evening I thought fit to notify to the literati of this house, and by that means to all the world, that on Saturday the fifteenth of October next ensuing, I design to fix my first table of fame; and desire that such as are acquainted with the characters of the twelve most famous men that have ever appeared in the world, would send in their lists, or name any one man for that table, assigning also his place at it, before that time, upon pain of having such his man of fame postponed, or placed too high, for ever. I shall not, upon any application whatever, alter the place which upon that day I shall give to any of these worthies. But, whereas there are many who take upon them to admire this hero, or that author, upon second hand, I expect each subscriber should

should underwrite his reason for the place he allots his candidate.

The thing is of the last consequence; for we are about settling the greatest point that ever has been debated in any age; and I shall take precautions accordingly. Let every man who votes, consider, that he is now going to give away that, for which the soldier gave up his rest, his pleasure, and his life; the scholar resigned his whole series of thought, his midnight repose, and his morning slumbers. In a word, he is, as I may say, to be judge of that after-life, which noble spirits prefer to their very real beings. I hope I shall be forgiven therefore, if I make some objections against their jury, as they shall occur to me. The whole of the number by whom they are to be tried, are to be scholars. I am persuaded also that Aristotle will be put up by all of that class of men. However, in behalf of others, such as wear the livery of Aristotle, the two famous universities are called upon on this occasion: but I except the men of Queen's, Exeter, and Jesus Colleges, in Oxford, who are not to be electors, because he shall not be crowned from an implicit faith in his writings, but receive his honour from such judges as shall allow him to be censured. Upon this election, as I was just now going to say, I banish all who think, and speak after others, to concern themselves in it. For which reason, all illiterate distant admirers are forbidden to corrupt the voices, by sending, according to the new mode, any poor students coals and candles for their votes in behalf of such worthies as they pretend to esteem. All newswriters are also excluded, because they consider fame as it is a report which gives foundation to the filling up

their rhapsodies, and not as it is the emanation or consequence of good and evil actions. These are excepted against as justly as butchers in case of life and death: their familiarity with the greatest names, takes off the delicacy of their regard, as dealing in blood makes the lanii less tender of spilling it.

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## THE TATLER. No. 81.

SATURDAY, OCT. 15, 1709.

*Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,——*
*Quique pii vates, & Phœbo digna locuti,*
*Inventas aut qui vitam excoluêre per artes,*
*Quique sui memores alios fecêre merendo.*

VIRG. Æn. vi. 660.

Here Patriots live, who for their country's good,
In fighting fields were prodigal of blood;
Here Poets, worthy their inspiring god,
And of unblemish'd life, make their abode:
And searching Wits, of more mechanick parts,
Who grac'd their age with new invented arts:
Those who to worth their bounty did extend;
And those who knew that bounty to commend.

DRYDEN.

From my own apartments, OCTOBER 14.

THERE are two kinds of immortality; that which the soul really enjoys after this life, and that imaginary existence, by which men live in their fame and reputation. The best and greatest actions, have proceeded

proceeded from the prospect of the one, or the other of these; but my design is to treat only of those who have chiefly proposed to themselves the latter, as the principal reward of their labours. It was for this reason that I excluded from my Tables of Fame, all the great founders and votaries of religion; and it is for this reason also, that I am more than ordinarily anxious to do justice to the persons of whom I am now going to speak; for, since fame was the only end of all their enterprises and studies, a man cannot be too scrupulous in allotting them their due proportion of it. It was this consideration which made me call the whole body of the learned to my assistance; to many of whom I must own my obligations for the catalogues of illustrious persons, which they have sent me in upon this occasion. I yesterday employed the whole afternoon in comparing them with each other; which made so strong an impression upon my imagination, that they broke my sleep for the first part of the following night, and at length threw me into a very agreeable vision, which I shall beg leave to describe in all its particulars.

I dreamed that I was conveyed into a wide and boundless plain, that was covered with prodigious multitudes of people, which no man could number. In the midst of it there stood a mountain, with its head above the clouds. The sides were extremely steep, and of such a particular structure, that no creature which was not made in a human figure could possibly ascend it. On a sudden there was heard from the top of it a sound like that of a trumpet; but so exceedingly sweet and harmonious, that filled the hearts of those who heard it with rap-

tures, and gave such high and delightful sensations, as seemed to animate and raise human nature above itself. This made me very much amazed to find so very few in that innumerable multitude, who had ears fine enough to hear or relish this musick with pleasure: but my wonder abated, when, upon looking round me, I saw most of them attentive to three sirens clothed like goddesses, and distinguished by the names of Sloth, Ignorance, and Pleasure. They were seated on three rocks, amid a beautiful variety of groves, meadows, and rivulets, that lay on the borders of the mountain. While the base and grovelling multitude of different nations, ranks, and ages, were listening to these delusive deities; those of a more erect aspect, and exalted spirit, separated themselves from the rest, and marched in great bodies toward the mountain, from whence they heard the sound, which still grew sweeter, the more they listened to it.

On a sudden methought this select band sprang forward, with a resolution to climb the ascent, and follow the call of that heavenly musick. Every one took something with him, that he thought might be of assistance to him in his march. Several had their swords drawn, some carried rolls of paper in their hands, some had compasses, others quadrants, others telescopes, and others pencils; some had laurels on their heads, and others buskins on their legs: in short, there was scarce any instrument of a mechanick art, or liberal science, which was not made use of on this occasion. My good demon, who stood at my right hand during the course of this whole vision, observing in me a burning desire to join that glorious company, told me, he highly approved

approved that generous ardour with which I seemed transported; but at the same time, advised me to cover my face with a mask all the while I was to labour on the ascent. I took his counsel, without inquiring into his reasons. The whole body now broke into different parties, and began to climb the precipice by ten thousand different paths. Several got into little alleys, which did not reach far up the hill, before they ended and led no farther; and I observed, that most of the artisans, which considerably diminished our number, fell into these paths.

We left another considerable body of adventurers behind us, who thought they had discovered by-ways up the hill, which proved so very intricate and perplexed, that after having advanced in them a little, they were quite lost among the several turns and windings; and though they were as active as any in their motions, they made but little progress in the ascent. These, as my guide informed me, were men of subtle tempers, and puzzled politicks, who would supply the place of real wisdom, with cunning and artifice. Among those who were far advanced in their way, there were some, that by one false step fell backward, and lost more ground in a moment, than they had gained for many hours, or could be ever able to recover. We were now advanced very high, and observed that all the different paths, which ran about the sides of the mountain, began to meet in two great roads; which insensibly gathered the whole multitude of travellers into two great bodies. At a little distance from the entrance of each road, there stood a hideous phantom, that opposed our farther passage. One of these apparitions had his right hand filled with darts, which he brandished

brandished in the face of all who came up that way: crowds ran back at the appearance of it, and cried out Death. The spectre that guarded the other road, was Envy: she was not armed with weapons of destruction, like the former; but by dreadful hissings, noises of reproach, and a horrid distracted laughter, she appeared more frightful than Death itself; insomuch that abundance of our company were discouraged from passing any farther, and some appeared ashamed of having come so far. As for myself, I must confess my heart shrunk within me at the sight of these ghastly appearances: but on a sudden, the voice of the trumpet came more full upon us, so that we felt a new resolution reviving in us; and in proportion as this resolution grew, the terrours before us seemed to vanish. Most of the company, who had swords in their hands, marched on with great spirit, and an air of defiance, up the road that was commanded by Death; while others, who had thought and contemplation in their looks, went forward, in a more composed manner, up the road possessed by Envy. The way above these apparitions grew smooth and uniform, and was so delightful, that the travellers went on with pleasure, and in a little time arrived at the top of the mountain. They here began to breathe a delicious kind of ether, and saw all the fields about them covered with a kind of purple light, that made them reflect with satisfaction on their past toils; and diffused a secret joy through the whole assembly, which showed itself in every look and feature. In the midst of these happy fields there stood a palace of a very glorious structure: it had four great folding doors, that faced the four several quarters of the world.

On

On the top of it was enthroned the goddess of the mountain, who smiled upon her votaries, and sounded the silver trumpet which had called them up, and cheered them in their passage to her palace. They had now formed themselves into several divisions; a band of historians taking their stations at each door, according to the persons whom they were to introduce.

On a sudden, the trumpet which had hitherto sounded only a march, or point of war, now swelled all its notes into triumph and exultation: the whole fabrick shook, and the doors flew open. The first that stepped forward was a beautiful and blooming hero, and as I heard by the murmurs round me, Alexander the Great. He was conducted by a crowd of historians. The person, who immediately walked before him, was remarkable for an embroidered garment, who not being well acquainted with the place, was conducting him to an apartment appointed for the reception of fabulous heroes. The name of this false guide was Quintus Curtius. But Arrian and Plutarch, who knew better the avenues of this palace, conducted him into the great hall, and placed him at the upper end of the first table. My good demon, that I might see the whole ceremony, conveyed me to a corner of this room, where I might perceive all that passed, without being seen myself. The next who entered was a charming virgin, leading in a venerable old man that was blind. Under her left arm she bore a harp, and on her head a garland. Alexander, who was very well acquainted with Homer, stood up at his entrance, and placed him on his right hand. The virgin, who it seems was

one

one of the nine sisters that attended on the goddess of Fame, smiled with an ineffable grace at their meeting, and retired.

Julius Cæsar was now coming forward; and though most of the historians offered their service to introduce him, he left them at the door, and would have no conductor but himself.

The next who advanced, was a man of a homely but cheerful aspect, and attended by persons of greater figure than any that appeared on this occasion. Plato was on his right hand, and Xenophon on his left. He bowed to Homer, and sat down by him. It was expected that Plato would himself have taken a place next to his master Socrates; but on a sudden there was heard a great clamour of disputants at the door, who appeared with Aristotle at the head of them. That philosopher, with some rudeness, but great strength of reason, convinced the whole table, that a title to the fifth place was his due, and took it accordingly.

He had scarce sat down, when the same beautiful virgin that had introduced Homer, brought in another, who hung back at the entrance, and would have excused himself, had not his modesty been overcome by the invitation of all who sat at the table. His guide and behaviour made me easily conclude it was Virgil. Cicero next appeared, and took his place. He had inquired at the door for one Lucceius to introduce him; but not finding him there, he contented himself with the attendance of many other writers, who all, except Sallust, appeared highly pleased with the office.

We waited some time in expectation of the next worthy, who came in with a great retinue of historians,

rians, whose names I could not learn, most of them being natives of Carthage. The person thus conducted, who was Hannibal, seemed much disturbed, and could not forbear complaining to the board, of the affronts he had met with among the Roman historians, who attempted, says he, to carry me into the subterraneous apartment; and perhaps would have done it, had it not been for the impartiality of this gentleman, pointing to Polybius, who was the only person, except my own countrymen, that was willing to conduct me hither.

The Carthaginian took his seat, and Pompey entered with great dignity in his own person, and preceded by several historians. Lucan the poet was at the head of them, who, observing Homer and Virgil at the table, was going to sit down himself, had not the latter whispered him, that whatever pretence he might otherwise have had, he forfeited his claim to it, by coming in as one of the historians. Lucan was so exasperated with the repulse, that he muttered something to himself; and was heard to say, that since he could not have a seat among them himself, he would bring in one who alone had more merit than their whole assembly: upon which he went to the door, and brought in Cato of Utica. That great man approached the company with such an air, that showed he contemned the honour which he laid a claim to. Observing the seat opposite to Cæsar was vacant, he took possession of it, and spoke two or three smart sentences upon the nature of precedency, which, according to him, consisted not in place, but in intrinsick merit; to which he added, that the most virtuous man, wherever he was seated,

ed, was always at the upper end of the table. Socrates, who had a great spirit of raillery with his wisdom, could not forbear smiling at a virtue which took so little pains to make itself agreeable. Cicero took the occason to make a long discourse in praise of Cato, which he uttered with much vehemence. Cæsar answered him with a great deal of seeming temper; but, as I stood at a great distance from them, I was not able to hear one word of what they said. But I could not forbear taking notice, that in all the discourse which passed at the table, a word or nod from Homer decided the controversy.

After a short pause Augustus appeared, looking round him, with a serene and affable countenance, upon all the writers of his age, who strove among themselves which of them should show him the greatest marks of gratitude and respect. Virgil rose from the table to meet him; and though he was an acceptable guest to all, he appeared more such to the learned, than the military worthies. The next man astonished the whole table with his appearance: he was slow, solemn, and silent in his behaviour, and wore a raiment curiously wrought with hieroglyphicks. As he came into the middle of the room, he threw up the skirts of it, and discovered a golden thigh. Socrates, at the sight of it, declared against keeping company with any who were not made of flesh and blood; and therefore desired Diogenes the Laertian to lead him to the apartment allotted for fabulous heroes and worthies of dubious existence. At his going out, he told them, that they did not know whom they dismissed; that he was now Pythagoras, the first of philosophers,

philosophers, and that formerly he had been a very brave man at the siege of Troy. That may be very true, said Socrates; but you forget that you have likewise been a very great harlot in your time. This exclusion made way for Archimedes, who came forward with a scheme of mathematical figures in his hand; among which I observed a cone and a cylinder.

Seeing this table full, I desired my guide, for variety, to lead me to the fabulous apartment, the roof of which was painted with gorgons, chimeras, and centaurs, with many other emblematical figures, which I wanted both time and skill to unriddle. The first table was almost full: at the upper end sat Hercules leaning an arm upon his club; on his right hand were Achilles and Ulysses, and between them Æneas; on his left were Hector, Theseus, and Jason: the lower end had Orpheus, Æsop, Phalaris, and Musæus. The ushers seemed at a loss for a twelfth man, when, methought, to my great joy and surprise, I heard some at the lower end of the table mention Isaac Bickerstaff: but those of the upper end received it with disdain; and said, if they must have a British worthy, they would have Robin Hood.

# THE TATLER, No. 258.

SATURDAY, DEC. 2, 1710.

## TO ISAAC BICKERSTAFF ESQUIRE*.

SIR, Nov. 22, 1710.

DINING yesterday with Mr. South-British and Mr. William North-Briton, two gentlemen, who before you ordered it otherwise, were known by the names of Mr. English and Mr. William Scot: among other things, the maid of the house, who in her time, I believe, may have been a North British warmingpan, brought us up a dish of North British collops. We liked our entertainment very well; only we observed the tablecloth, being not so fine as we could have wished, was North British cloth. But the worst of it was, we were disturbed all dinner time by the noise of the children, who were playing in the paved court at North British hoppers; so we paid our North Briton sooner than we designed, and took coach to North Britain yard, about which

* "Steele, the rogue, has done the impudentest thing in the "world: he said something in a Tatler, that we ought to use the "word Great Britain, and not England, in common conversation, "as, 'the finest lady in Great Britain,' &c. Upon this, Rowe, "Prior, and I, sent him a letter, turning this into ridicule. He has "to day printed the letter, and signed it J. S. M. P. and N. R. the "first letters of all our names." Journal to Stella, Dec. 2, 1710.—The dean observes, in another place, "The modern phrase 'Great "Britain is only to distinguish it from Little Britain, where old "clothes and old books are to be bought and sold." Letter to Alderman Barber, Aug. 8, 1738.

place

place most of us live. We had indeed gone afoot; only we were under some apprehensions, lest a North British mist should wet a South British man to the skin.—We think this matter properly expressed, according to the accuracy of the new style, settled by you in one of your late papers. You will please to give your opinion upon it to,

SIR,

Your most humble servants,

J. S. M. P. N. R.

## THE TATLER*. No. 5.

—— Laceratque, trahitque
Molle pecus.——— VIRG.

*From Tuesday, Jan. 23, to Saturday, Jan. 27, 1710.*

AMONG other services I have met with from some criticks, the cruellest for an old man is, that they will not let me be at quiet in my bed, but pursue me to my very dreams. I must not dream but when they please, nor upon long continued subjects, however visionary in their own natures, because there is a manifest moral quite through them, which to produce as a dream is improbable

* The two following Tatlers are not in the four volumes published by sir Richard Steele; but are taken from the one published by Mr. Harrison.

and unnatural. The pain I might have had from this objection, is prevented, by considering they have missed another, against which I should have been at a loss to defend myself. They might have asked me whether the dreams I publish can properly be called lucubrations, which is the name I have given to all my papers, whether in volumes or half sheets: so manifest a contradiction *in terminis*, that I wonder no sophister ever thought of it. But the other is a cavil. I remember, when I was a boy at school, I have often dreamed out the whole passages of a day; that I rode a journey, baited, supped, went to bed, and rose next morning: and I have known young ladies, who could dream a whole contexture of adventures in one night, large enough to make a novel. In youth the imagination is strong, not mixed with cares, nor tinged with those passions that most disturb and confound it: such as avarice, ambition, and many others. Now, as old men are said to grow children again, so in this article of dreaming, I am returned to my childhood. My imagination is at full ease, without care, avarice, or ambition to clog it; by which, among many others, I have this advantage of doubling the small remainder of my time, and living four and twenty hours in the day. However, the dream I am going now to relate, is as wild as can well be imagined, and adapted to please these refiners upon sleep, without any moral that I can discover.

"It happened, that my maid left on the table "in my bedchamber one of her storybooks (as "she calls them) which I took up, and found full

"of

" of strange impertinence, fitted to her taste and " condition; of poor servants who came to be la- " dies, and servingmen of low degree who mar- " ried kings daughters. Among other things, I " met this sage observation, That a lion would " never hurt a true virgin. With this medley of " nonsense in my fancy, I went to bed, and " dreamed that a friend waked me in the morning, " and proposed for pastime to spend a few hours " in seeing the parish lions, which he had not " done since he came to town; and because they " showed but once a week, he would not miss the " opportunity. I said I would humour him; al- " though, to speak the truth, I was not fond of " those cruel spectacles; and, if it were not so an- " cient a custom, founded (as I had heard) upon " the wisest maxims, I should be apt to censure " the inhumanity of those who introduced it." All this will be a riddle to the waking reader, until I discover the scene my imagination had formed, upon the maxim, That a lion would never hurt a true virgin. " I dreamed, that by a law of imme- " morial time, a he lion was kept in every parish " at the common charge, and in a place provided " adjoining to the churchyard; that before any " one of the fair sex was married, if she affirmed " herself to be a virgin, she must on her wedding " day, and in her wedding clothes, perform the " ceremony of going alone into the den, and stay " an hour with the lion, let loose and kept fasting " four and twenty hours on purpose. At a proper " height above the den were convenient galleries " for the relations and friends of the young couple, " and open to all spectators. No maiden was

" forced to offer herself to the lion; but, if she " refused, it was a disgrace to marry her, and " every one might have liberty of calling her a " whore. And methought it was as usual a diver- " sion to see the parish lions, as with us to go to " a play or an opera. And it was reckoned con- " venient to be near the church, either for marrying " the virgin, if she escaped the trial, or for burying " her bones, when the lion had devoured the rest, as " he constantly did."

To go on therefore with the dream: " We called " first (as I remember) to see St. Dunstan's lion: " but we were told, they did not show to day. " From thence we went to that of Covent Garden, " which, to my great surprise, we found as lean " as a skeleton, when I expected quite the con- " trary; but the keeper said it was no wonder at " all, because the poor beast had not got an ounce " of woman's flesh since he came into the parish. " This amazed me more than the other, and I was " forming to myself a mighty veneration for the " ladies, in that quarter of the town; when the " keeper went on, and said he wondered the pa- " rish would be at the charge of maintaining a " lion for nothing. Friend (said I), do you call it " nothing to justify the virtue of so many ladies; " or has your lion lost his distinguishing faculty? " can there be any thing more for the honour of " your parish, than that all the ladies married in " your church were pure virgins? That is true " (said he), and the doctor knows it to his sorrow; " for there has not been a couple married in our " church since his worship came among us. The " virgins hereabouts are too wise to venture the

" claws

" claws of the lion; and because nobody will " marry them, have all entered into a vow of vir- " ginity; so that in proportion we have much the " largest nunnery in the whole town. This man- " ner of ladies entering into a vow of virginity, " because they were not virgins, I easily conceived; " and my dream told me, that the whole kingdom " was full of nunneries plentifully stocked from the " same reason.

" We went to see another lion, where we found " much company met in the gallery. The keeper " told us we should see sport enough, as he called " it; and in a little time we saw a young beautiful " lady put into the den, who walked up toward " the lion with all imaginable security in her coun- " tenance, and looked smiling upon her lover and " friends in the gallery; which I thought nothing " extraordinary, because it was never known that " any lion had been mistaken. But, however, we " were all disappointed; for the lion lifted up his " right paw, which was the fatal sign, and advanc- " ing forward, seized her by the arm, and began " to tear it. The poor lady gave a terrible shriek, " and cried out, 'The lion is just; I am no vir- " gin! Oh! Sappho! Sappho!' she could say no " more, for the lion gave her the *coup de grace* by " a squeeze in the throat, and she expired at his " feet. The keeper dragged away her body, to " feed the animal after the company should be " gone: for the parish lion never used to eat in " publick. After a little pause, another lady came " on toward the lion in the same manner as the " former. We observed the beast smell her with " diligence. He scratched both her hands with

" lifting them to his nose, and laying one of his " claws on her bosom, drew blood; however, he " let her go, and at the same time turned from her " with a sort of contempt, at which she was not a " little mortified, and retired with some confusion " to her friends in the gallery. Methought, the " whole company immediately understood the mean- " ing of this; that the easiness of the lady had " suffered her to admit certain imprudent and dan- " gerous familiarities, bordering too much upon " what is criminal; neither was it sure whether " the lover then present had not some sharers with " him in those freedoms, of which a lady can never " be too sparing.

" This happened to be an extraordinary day; " for a third lady came into the den, laughing " loud, playing with her fan, tossing her head, " and smiling round on the young fellows in the " gallery. However, the lion leaped on her with " great fury, and we gave her for gone; but on a " sudden he let go his hold, and turned from her " as if he was nauseated; then gave her a lash " with his tail; after which she returned to the " gallery, not the least out of countenance: and " this, it seems, was the usual treatment of " coquets.

" I thought we had seen enough; but my friend " would needs have us go and visit one or two lions " in the city. We called at two or three dens, " where they happened not to show; but we gene- " rally found half a score young girls, between " eight and eleven years old, playing with each " lion, sitting on his back, and putting their hands " into his mouth; some of them would now and

" then

" then get a scratch, but we always discovered " upon examining, that they had been boidening " with the young apprentices. One of them was " calling to a pretty girl about twelve years old, " who stood by us in the gallery, to come down to " the lion, and, upon her refusal, said, ' Ah! miss " Betty, we could never get you to come near the " lion, since you played at hoop and hide with my " brother in the garret.'

" We followed a couple, with the wedding folks, " going to the church of St. Mary-Axe. The lady, " though well stricken in years, extremely crooked " and deformed, was dressed out beyond the gayety " of fifteen; having jumbled together, as I ima- " gined, all the tawdry remains of aunts, godmo- " thers, and grandmothers, for some generations " past. One of the neighbours whispered me, that " she was an old maid, and had the clearest repu- " tation of any in the parish. There is nothing " strange in that, thought I; but was much sur- " prised when I observed afterward, that she went " toward the lion with distrust and concern. The " beast was lying down; but, upon sight of her, " snuffed up his nose two or three times, and then, " giving the sign of death, proceeded instantly to " execution. In the midst of her agonies, she was " heard to name the words Italy and artifices with " the utmost horrour, and several repeated execra- " tions, and at last concluded, ' Fool that I was, " to put so much confidence in the toughness of my " skin!'

" The keeper immediately set all in order again " for another customer, which happened to be a " famous prude, whom her parents, after long

" threatenings and much persuasion, had, with the " extremest difficulty, prevailed on to accept a " young handsome goldsmith, who might have pre- " tended to five times her fortune. The fathers " and mothers in the neighbourhood used to quote " her for an example to their daughters; her el- " bows were riveted to her sides, and her whole " person so ordered, as to inform every body that " she was afraid they should touch her. She only " dreaded to approach the lion, because it was a " he one, and abhorred to think a male animal " should presume to breathe on her. The sight of " a man at twenty yards distance made her draw " back her head. She always sat upon the farther " corner of the chair, although there were six chairs " between her and her lover, and with the door " wide open, and her little sister in the room. She " was never saluted but at the tip of the ear; and " her father had much ado to make her dine with- " out her gloves, when there was a man at table. " She entered the den with some fear, which we " took to proceed from the height of her modesty, " offended at the sight of so many men in the gal- " lery. The lion, beholding her at a distance, im- " mediately gave the deadly sign, at which the poor " creature (methinks I see her still!) miscarried in a " fright before us all. The lion seemed to be as " much surprised as we, and gave her time to make " her confession; 'That she was five months gone " by the foreman of her father's shop, and that this " was her third big belly:' and when her friends " asked, why she should venture the trial? she said, " Her nurse told her, that a lion would never hurt " a woman with child." Upon this I immediately awaked,

awaked, and could not help wishing, that the deputy censors of my late institution, were endued with the same instinct as these parish lions.

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## THE TATLER. No. 20.

Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores. OVID.

*From Saturday, March 3, to Tuesday, March 6, 1710.*

From my own apartment in Channel-row, MARCH 5.

THOSE inferiour duties of life, which the French call *les petites morales*, or the smaller morals, are with us distinguished by the name of good manners or breeding. This I look upon, in the general notion of it, to be a sort of artificial good sense, adapted to the meanest capacities, and introduced to make mankind easy in their commerce with each other. Low and little understandings, without some rules of this kind, would be perpetually wandering into a thousand indecencies and irregularities in behaviour; and in their ordinary conversation, fall into the same boisterous familiarities, that one observes among them when a debauch has quite taken away the use of their reason. In other instances it is odd to consider, that for want of common discretion, the very end of good breeding is wholly perverted; and civility, intended to make us easy, is employed in laying chains and fetters upon us, in debarring us of our wishes, and in crossing our most reasonable desires

sires and inclinations. This abuse reigns chiefly in the country, as I found to my vexation when I was last there, in a visit I made to a neighbour about two miles from my cousin. As soon as I entered the parlour, they put me into the great chair that stood close by a huge fire, and kept me there by force until I was almost stifled. Then a boy came in great hurry to pull off my boots, which I in vain opposed, urging that I must return soon after dinner. In the mean time, the good lady whispered her eldest daughter, and slipped a key into her hand; the girl returned instantly with a beer glass half full of *aqua mirabilis* and syrup of gillyflowers. I took as much as I had a mind for, but madam vowed I should drink it off; for she was sure it would do me good after coming out of the cold air; and I was forced to obey, which absolutely took away my stomach. When dinner came in, I had a mind to sit at a distance from the fire; but they told me it was as much as my life was worth, and set me with my back just against it. Although my appetite was quite gone, I was resolved to force down as much as I could, and desired the leg of a pullet. "In-" deed, Mr. Bickerstaff (says the lady) you must "eat a wing, to oblige me;" and so put a couple upon my plate. I was persecuted at this rate during the whole meal; as often as I called for small beer, the master tipped the wink, and the servant brought me a brimmer of october. Some time after dinner, I ordered my cousin's man, who came with me, to get ready the horses; but it was resolved I should not stir that night; and when I seemed pretty much bent upon going, they ordered the stable door to be locked, and the children hid my cloak and boots.

The

The next question was, What would I have for supper? I said, I never eat any thing at night: but was at last, in my own defence, obliged to name the first thing that came into my head. After three hours spent chiefly in apologies for my entertainment, insinuating to me, "That this was the worst "time of the year for provisions; that they were at "a great distance from any market; that they were "afraid I should be starved; and that they knew "they kept me to my loss;" the lady went, and left me to her husband; for they took special care I should never be alone. As soon as her back was turned, the little misses ran backward and forward every moment, and constantly as they came in, or went out, made a courtesy directly at me, which, in good manners, I was forced to return with a bow, and Your humble servant, pretty miss. Exactly at eight the mother came up, and discovered, by the redness of her face, that supper was not far off. It was twice as large as the dinner, and my persecution doubled in proportion. I desired at my usual hour to go to my repose, and was conducted to my chamber by the gentleman, his lady, and the whole train of children. They importuned me to drink something before I went to bed; and, upon my refusing, at last left a bottle of stingo as they called it, for fear I should wake and be thirsty in the night. I was forced in the morning to rise and dress myself in the dark, because they would not suffer my kinsman's servant to disturb me at the hour I desired to be called. I was now resolved to break through all measures to get away; and, after sitting down to a monstrous breakfast of cold beef, mutton, neats tongues, venison pasty, and stale beer, took leave of

of the family. But the gentleman would needs see me part of the way, and carry me a short cut through his own ground, which he told me would save half a mile's riding. This last piece of civility had like to have cost me dear, being once or twice in danger of my neck by leaping over his ditches, and at last forced to alight in the dirt, when my horse, having slipped his bridle, ran away, and took us up more than an hour to recover him again.

It is evident, that none of the absurdities I met with in this visit proceeded from an ill intention, but from a wrong judgment of complaisance, and a misapplication in the rules of it. I cannot so easily excuse the more refined criticks upon behaviour, who, having professed no other study, are yet infinitely defective in the most material parts of it. Ned Fashion has been bred all his life about court, and understands to a tittle all the punctilios of a drawingroom. He visits most of the fine women near St. James's, and upon every occasion, says the civilest and softest things to them of any breathing. To Mr. Isaac * he owes an easy slide in his bow, and a graceful manner of coming into a room: but, in some other cases, he is very far from being a well-bred person. He laughs at men of far superiour understanding to his own, for not being as well dressed as himself; despises all his acquaintance who are not of quality, and in publick places has, on that account, often avoided taking notice of some among the best speakers of the house of commons. He rails strenuously at both universities before the members of either; and is never heard to swear an oath, or break

* A famous dancingmaster in those days.

in

in upon religion and morality, except in the company of divines. On the other hand, a man of right sense has all the essentials of good breeding, although he may be wanting in the forms of it. Horatio has spent most of his time at Oxford: he has a great deal of learning, an agreeable wit, and as much modesty as may serve to adorn, without concealing, his other good qualities. In that retired way of living, he seems to have formed a notion of human nature, as he has found it described in the writings of the greatest men, not as he is likely to meet with it in the common course of life. Hence it is that he gives no offence, but converses with great deference, candour, and humanity. His bow, I must confess, is somewhat awkward; but then he has an extensive, universal, and unaffected knowledge, which may, perhaps, a little excuse him. He would make no extraordinary figure at a ball; but I can assure the ladies, in his behalf, and for their own consolation, that he has writ better verses on the sex than any man now living, and is preparing such a poem for the press, as will transmit their praises, and his own, to many generations.

# THE TATLER. No. 24*.

O Lycida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostri
(Quod nunquam veriti sumus) ut possessor agelli
Diceret, Hæc mea sunt, veteres migrate coloni.

VIRG.

THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1710.

From my own apartment in Channel-row, MARCH 14.

THE dignity and distinction of men of wit is seldom enough considered, either by themselves or others; their own behaviour, and the usage they meet with, being generally very much of a piece. I have at this time in my hands an alphabetical list of the *beaux esprits* about this town, four or five of whom have made the proper use of their genius, by gaining the esteem of the best and greatest men, and by turning it to their own advantage in some establishment of their fortunes, however unequal to their merit; others, satisfying themselves with the honour of having access to great tables, and of being subject to the call of every man of quality, who upon occasion wants one to say witty things for the diversion of the company. This treatment never moves my indignation so much as when it is practised by a person, who though he owes his own rise purely to the reputation of his parts, yet appears to be as much ashamed of it, as a rich city knight to be

* "Little Harrison came to me, and begged me to dictate a "paper to him; which I was forced in charity to do." Journal to Stella, March 14. N.

denominated

denominated from the trade he was first apprenticed to; and affects the air of a man born to his titles, and consequently above the character of a wit, or a scholar. If those who possess great endowments of the mind would set a just value upon themselves, they would think no man's acquaintance whatsoever a condescension, nor accept it from the greatest upon unworthy or ignominious terms. I know a certain lord, that has often invited a set of people, and proposed for their diversion a buffoon player, and an eminent poet, to be of the party; and, which was yet worse, thought them both sufficiently recompensed by the dinner, and the honour of his company. This kind of insolence is risen to such a height, that I myself was the other day sent to by a man with a title, whom I had never seen, desiring the favour that I would dine with him and half a dozen of his select friends. I found afterward, the footman had told my maid below stairs, that my lord, having a mind to be merry, had resolved right or wrong to send for honest Isaac. I was sufficiently provoked with the message; however, I gave the fellow no other answer, than that "I believed he had mis-"taken the person, for I did not remember that his "lord had ever been introduced to me." I have reason to apprehend that this abuse has been owing rather to a meanness of spirit in men of parts, than to the natural pride or ignorance of their patrons. Young students, coming up to town from the places of their education, are dazzled with the grandeur they every where meet; and making too much haste to distinguish their parts, instead of waiting to be desired and caressed, are ready to pay their court at any rate to a great man, whose name they

they have seen in a publick paper, or the frontispiece of a dedication. It has not always been thus; wit in polite ages has ever begot either esteem or fear: the hopes of being celebrated, or the dread of being stigmatised, procured a universal respect and awe for the persons of such as were allowed to have the power of distributing fame or infamy where they pleased. Aretine had all the princes of Europe his tributaries*: and when any of them had committed a folly that laid them open to his censure, they were forced by some present extraordinary to compound for his silence; of which there is a famous instance on record. When Charles the Fifth had miscarried in his African expedition, which was looked upon as the weakest undertaking of that great emperor, he sent Aretine a gold chain, who made some difficulty of accepting it, saying, "It was too small a pre-"sent in all reason for so great a folly." For my own part, in this point I differ from him; and never could be prevailed upon, by any valuable consideration, to conceal a fault or a folly, since I first took the censorship upon me.

* There is a letter of his extant in which he makes his boast, that he had laid the sophi of Persia under contribution. Spectator, No. 23.

THE

# THE TATLER. No. 230.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 28, 1710.

From my own apartment, SEPTEMBER 27.

THE following letter has laid before me many great and manifest evils in the world of letters, which I had overlooked; but it opens to me a very busy scene, and it will require no small care and application to amend errours, which are become so universal. The affectation of politeness is exposed in this epistle with a great deal of wit and discernment; so that, whatever discourses I may fall into hereafter upon the subject the writer treats of, I shall at present lay the matter before the world without the least alteration from the words of my correspondent.

" To ISAAC BICKERSTAFF Esq.

" SIR,

" THERE are some abuses among us of great con-
" sequence, the reformation of which is properly
" your province; although, as far as I have been
" conversant in your papers, you have not yet con-
" sidered them. These are, the deplorable ignor-
" ance that for some years has reigned among our
" English writers, the great depravity of our taste,
" and the continual corruption of our style. I say
" nothing here of those who handle particular

" sciences, divinity, law, physick, and the like;
" I mean the traders in history, and politicks,
" and the *belles lettres*, together with those by
" whom books are not translated, but (as the com-
" mon expressions are) done out of French, Latin,
" or other languages, and made English. I cannot
" but observe to you, that, until of late years, a
" Grub street book was always bound in sheepskin,
" with suitable print and paper, the price never
" above a shilling, and taken off wholly by common
" tradesmen or country pedlars; but now they ap-
" pear in all sizes and shapes, and in all places;
" they are handed about from lapfuls in every
" coffeehouse to persons of quality; are shown
" in Westminster-hall and the Court of Requests;
" you may see them gilt, and in royal paper, of
" five or six hundred pages, and rated accordingly.
" I would engage to furnish you with a catalogue
" of English books, published within the com-
" pass of seven years past, which at the first
" hand would cost you a hundred pounds, where-
" in you shall not be able to find ten lines together
" of common grammar, or common sense.

" These two evils, ignorance and want of taste,
" have produced a third, I mean the continual cor-
" ruption of our English tongue, which, without
" some timely remedy, will suffer more by the false
" refinements of twenty years past, than it has been
" improved in the foregoing hundred. And this is
" what I design chiefly to enlarge upon, leaving the
" former evils to your animadversion.

" But, instead of giving you a list of the late re-
" finements crept into our language, I here send you
" a copy of a letter I received some time ago from a

" most

" most accomplished person in this way of writing,
" upon which I shall make some remarks *. It is in
" these terms :

SIR,

I cou'dn't *get the things you sent for all* about town.—*I* tho't *to* ha' *come down myself, and then* I'd ha' bro't 'um ; *but* ha'nt don't, *and I believe I* can't do't, *that's* pozz.—Tom *begins to* g'imself *airs, because* he's *going with the* plenipo's.—*'Tis said the French king will* bamboozle us agen, *which* causes many speculations. *The* Jacks, *and others of that* kidney, *are verry* uppish *and* alert upon't, *as you may see by their* phizz's.—Will Hazard *has got the* hipps, *having lost* to the tune of *five hundr'd pound*, tho' *he understands play very well*, nobody better. *He has* promis't *me upon* rep *to leave off play* ; *but you know 'tis a weakness* he's *too apt to* give into, tho' *he has as much wit as any man*, nobody more : *he has lain* incog *ever since.—The* mobb's *very quiet with us now.—I believe you* tho't *I* banter'd *you in my last like a* country put.—*I* shan't *leave town this month*, &c.

" This letter is, in every point, an admirable
" pattern of the present polite way of writing ; nor
" is it of less authority for being an epistle : you
" may gather every flower of it, with a thousand
" more of equal sweetness, from the books, pam-
" phlets, and single papers, offered us every day

* It is very remarkable, that, notwithstanding the ridicule so justly thrown by our author on barbarous contractions, he constantly fell into that errour in his private letters to Stella.

" in the coffeehouses. And these are the beauties " introduced to supply the want of wit, sense, hu- " mour, and learning, which formerly were looked " upon as qualifications for a writer. If a man of " wit, who died forty years ago, were to rise from " the grave on purpose, how would he be able to " read this letter? and after he had gone through " that difficulty, how would he be able to under- " stand it? The first thing that strikes your eye, is " the breaks at the end of almost every sentence; of " which I know not the use, only that it is a refine- " ment, and very frequently practised. Then you " will observe the abbreviations and elisions, by " which consonants of most obdurate sounds are " joined together without one softening vowel to " intervene: and all this only to make one syllable " of two, directly contrary to the example of the " Greeks and Romans; altogether of the Gothick " strain, and of a natural tendency toward relapsing " into barbarity, which delights in monosyllables, " and uniting of mute consonants, as it is observable " in all the Northern languages. And this is still " more visible in the next refinement, which con- " sists in pronouncing the first syllable in a word " that has many, and dismissing the rest; such as " phizz, hipps, mobb, pozz, rep, and many more; " when we are already overloaded with monosylla- " bles, which are the disgrace of our language. " Thus we cram one syllable, and cut off the rest; " as the owl fattened her mice after she had bit off " their legs, to prevent them from running away; " and if ours be the same reason for maiming words, " it will certainly answer the end; for I am sure no " other nation will desire to borrow them. Some

" words

" words are hitherto but fairly split, and therefore " only in their way to perfection, as incog and " plenipo; but in a short time, it is to be hoped, " they will be further docked to inc and plen. This " reflection has made me of late years very impatient " for a peace, which I believe would save the lives " of many brave words as well as men. The war " has introduced abundance of polysyllables, which " will never be able to live many more campaigns. " Speculations, operations, preliminaries, ambassadors, " palisadoes, communications, circumvallations, bat- " talions, as numerous as they are, if they attack us " too frequently in our coffeehouses, we shall cer- " tainly put them to flight, and cut off the rear.

" The third refinement observable in the letter I " send you, consists in the choice of certain words " invented by some pretty fellows, such as banter, " bamboozle, country put, and kidney, as it is " there applied; some of which are now struggling " for the vogue, and others are in possession of it. " I have done my utmost for some years past to stop " the progress of mob and banter, but have been " plainly born down by numbers, and betrayed by " those who promised to assist me.

" In the last place, you are to take notice of cer- " tain choice phrases scattered through the letter; " some of them tolerable enough, till they were " worn to rags by servile imitators. You might " easily find them, although they were not in a " different print, and therefore I need not disturb " them.

" These are the false refinements in our style, " which you ought to correct: first, by arguments " and fair means; but if those fail, I think you are

" to make use of your authority as censor, and by " an annual *index expurgatorius* expunge all words " and phrases that are offensive to good sense, and " condemn those barbarous mutilations of vowels " and syllables. In this last point the usual pre- " tence is, that they spell as they speak: a noble " standard for language! to depend upon the caprice " of every coxcomb, who, because words are the " clothing of our thoughts, cuts them out and " shapes them as he pleases, and changes them " oftener than his dress. I believe all reasonable " people would be content, that such refiners were " more sparing of their words, and liberal in their " syllables. On this head I should be glad you " would bestow some advice upon several young " readers in our churches, who, coming up from the " university full fraught with admiration of our town " politeness, will needs correct the style of our " prayerbooks. In reading the absolution, they are " very careful to say pardons and absolves, and in " the prayer for the royal family it must be " endue'um, enrich'um, prosper'um, and bring'um; " then in their sermons they use all the modern " terms of art, sham, banter, mob, bubble, bully, " cutting, shuffling, and palming; all which, and " many more of the like stamp, as I have heard " them often in the pulpit from some young so- " phisters, so I have read them in some of those " sermons that have made a great noise of late. The " design, it seems, is to avoid the dreadful imputa- " tion of pedantry; to show us that they know the " town, understand men and manners, and have not " been poring upon old unfashionable books in the " university.

" I should

" I should be glad to see you the instrument of " introducing into our style that simplicity, which " is the best and truest ornament of most things in " human life; which the politer ages always aimed " at in their building and dress *(simplex munditiis)* " as well as their productions of wit. It is manifest " that all new affected modes of speech, whether " borrowed from the court, the town, or the thea- " tre, are the first perishing parts in any language; " and, as I could prove by many hundred instances, " have been so in ours. The writings of Hooker, " who was a country clergyman, and of Parsons the " jesuit, both in the reign of queen Elizabeth, are " in a style, that, with very few allowances, would " not offend any present reader; much more clear " and intelligible, than those of sir Henry Wotton, " sir Robert Naunton, Osborn, Daniel the historian, " and several others who writ later; but being men " of the court, and affecting the phrases then in " fashion, they are often either not to be understood, " or appear perfectly ridiculous.

" What remedies are to be applied to these evils I " have not room to consider, having, I fear, already " taken up most of your paper: besides, I think it " is our office only to represent abuses, and yours to " redress them.

" I am, with great respect,

" SIR,

" Yours, *&c.* *"

* Some other Tatlers by the dean will be found in the eighteenth volume of this collection.

THE

# SPECTATOR.

## NUMBER L*.

FRIDAY, APRIL, 27, 1711.

*Nunquam aliud natura, aliud sapientia dixit.*
Juv. Sat. xiv. 321.

Good sense and nature always speak the same.

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WHEN the four Indian kings were in this country about a twelvemonth ago, I often mixed with the rabble, and followed them a whole day together, being wonderfully struck with the sight of every thing that is new or uncommon. I have, since their departure, employed a friend to make many inquiries of their landlord the upholsterer, relating to their manners and conversation, as also concerning the re-

* "The Spectator is written by Steele, with Addison's help; it is "often very pretty. Yesterday it was made of a noble hint I gave "him long ago for his Tatlers, about an Indian supposed to write "his Travels into England. I repent he ever had it. I intended "to have written a book on that subject. I believe he has spent "it all in one paper; and all the under hints there are mine too: "but I never see him or Addison." Journal to Stella, April 28, 1711.

marks

marks which they made in this country: for, next to forming a right notion of such strangers, I should be desirous of learning what ideas they have conceived of us.

The upholsterer, finding my friend very inquisitive about these his lodgers, brought him some time since a little bundle of papers, which he assured him were written by king Sa Ga Yean Qua Rash Tow, and as he supposes, left behind by some mistake. These papers are now translated, and contain abundance of very odd observations, which I find this little fraternity of kings made during their stay in the isle of Great Britain. I shall present my reader with a short specimen of them in this paper, and may perhaps communicate more to him hereafter. In the article of London are the following words, which without doubt are meant of the church of St. Paul:

"On the most rising part of the town there "stands a huge house, big enough to contain the "whole nation of which I am king. Our good "brother E Tow O Koam, king of the Rivers, "is of opinion it was made by the hands of that "great God to whom it is consecrated. The kings "of Granajah and of the Six Nations believe that it "was created with the earth, and produced on the "same day with the sun and moon. But for my "own part, by the best information that I could "get of this matter, I am apt to think that this "prodigious pile was fashioned into the shape it "now bears by several tools and instruments, of "which they have a wonderful variety in this "country. It was probably at first a huge mis-"shapen rock that grew upon the top of the hill,

"which

" which the natives of the country (after having " cut it into a kind of regular figure) bored and " hollowed with incredible pains and industry, till " they had wrought it into all those beautiful vaults " and caverns into which it is divided at this day. " As soon as this rock was thus curiously scooped to " their liking, a prodigious number of hands must " have been employed in chipping the outside of " it, which is now as smooth as the surface of a " pebble; and is in several places hewn out into " pillars, that stand like the trunks of so many trees " bound about the top with garlands of leaves. It " is probable that when this great work was be- " gun, which must have been many hundred years " ago, there was some religion among this people; " for they gave it the name of a temple, and have " a tradition that it was designed for men to pay " their devotion in. And indeed there are several " reasons which make us think that the natives of " this country had formerly among them some sort " of worship; for they set apart every seventh day " as sacred: but, upon my going into one of these " holy houses on that day, I could not observe any " circumstance of devotion in their behaviour. " There was indeed a man in black, who was " mounted above the rest, and seemed to utter " something with a great deal of vehemence; but " as for those underneath him, instead of paying their " worship to the deity of the place, they were most " of them bowing and courtseying to one another, " and a considerable number of them fast asleep.

" The queen of the country appointed two men " to attend us, that had enough of our language to " make themselves understood in some few parti- " culars.

" culars. But we soon perceived these two were " great enemies to one another, and did not al- " ways agree in the same story. We could make " shift to gather out of one of them, that this " island was very much infested with a monstrous " kind of animals, in the shape of men, called " whigs; and he often told us, that he hoped we " should meet with none of them in our way, for " that, if we did, they would be apt to knock us " down, for being kings.

" Our other interpeter used to talk very much " of a kind of animal called a tory, that was as " great a monster as the whig, and would treat us " ill for being foreigners. These two creatures, it " seems, are born with a secret antipathy to one " another, and engage when they meet as naturally " as the elephant and the rhinoceros. But, as we " saw none of either of these species, we are apt to " think that our guides deceived us with misrepre- " sentations and fictions, and amused us with an " account of such monsters as are not really in their " country. These particulars we made a shift to " pick out from the discourse of our interpreters; " which we put together as well as we could, being " able to understand but here and there a word of " what they said, and afterward making up the " meaning of it among ourselves. The men of " the country are very cunning and ingenious in " handicraft works, but withal so very idle, that " we often saw young lusty rawboned fellows car- " ried up and down the streets in little covered " rooms by a couple of porters, who are hired for " that service. Their dress is likewise very bar- " barous; for they almost strangle themselves about

" the

" the neck, and bind their bodies with many liga-
" tures, that we are apt to think are the occasion of
" several distempers among them, which our coun-
" try is entirely free from. Instead of those beau-
" tiful feathers with which we adorn our heads, they
" often buy up a monstrous bush of hair, which
" covers their heads, and falls down in a large fleece
" below the middle of their backs: with which
" they walk up and down the streets, and are as
" proud of it as if it was of their own growth.

" We were invited to one of their publick diver-
" sions, where we hoped to have seen the great men
" of their country running down a stag, or pitching
" a bar, that we might have discovered who were
" the persons of the greatest abilities among them;
" but instead of that, they conveyed us into a
" huge room lighted up with abundance of candles,
" where this lazy people sat still above three hours,
" to see several feats of ingenuity performed by
" others, who it seems were paid for it.

" As for the women of the country, not being able
" to talk with them, we could only make our remarks
" upon them at a distance. They let the hair of
" their heads grow to a great length; but as the
" men make a great show with heads of hair that are
" none of their own, the women, who they say have
" very fine heads of hair, tie it up in a knot and
" cover it from being seen. The women look like
" angels; and would be more beautiful than the sun,
" were it not for little black spots that are apt to
" break out in their faces, and sometimes rise in very
" odd figures. I have observed that those little
" blemishes wear off very soon; but when they dis-
" appear in one part of the face, they are very apt to

" break

" break out in another, insomuch that I have seen a " spot upon the forehead in the afternoon, which " was upon the chin in the morning."

The author then proceeds to show the absurdity of breeches and petticoats; with many other curious observations, which I shall reserve for another occasion. I cannot however conclude this paper without taking notice, that amidst these wild remarks there now and then appears something very reasonable. I cannot likewise forbear observing, that we are all guilty in some measure of the same narrow way of thinking, which we meet with in this abstract of the Indian journal, when we fancy the customs, dresses, and manners of other countries are ridiculous and extravagant, if they do not resemble those of our own.

THE

# INTELLIGENCER.

## NUMBER I.

IT may be said, without offence to other cities of much greater consequence to the world, that our town of Dublin does not want its due proportion of folly and vice, both native and imported; and as to those imported, we have the advantage to receive them last, and consequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But because there are many effects of folly and vice among us, whereof some are general, others confined to smaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few individuals; there is a society lately established, who at great expense have erected an office of intelligence, from which they are to receive weekly information of all important events and singularities, which this famous metropolis can furnish. Strict injunctions are given to have the truest information; in order to which, certain qualified persons are employed to attend upon duty in their several posts; some at the playhouse, others in churches; some at balls, assemblies, coffeehouses, and meetings for quadrille; some at the several courts of justice, both spiritual and temporal; some at the college, some upon my lord mayor and aldermen

in

in their publick affairs; lastly, some to converse with favourite chambermaids, and to frequent those alehouses and brandyshops where the footmen of great families meet in a morning; only the barracks and parliament house are excepted; because we have yet found no *enfans perdus* bold enough to venture their persons at either. Out of these and some other storehouses, we hope to gather materials enough to inform, or divert, or correct, or vex the town.

But as facts, passages, and adventures of all kinds are likely to have the greatest share in our paper, whereof we cannot always answer for the truth; due care shall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all just offence will be removed; for if none be guilty, none will have cause to blush or be angry; if otherwise, then the guilty person is safe for the future upon his present amendment, and safe for the present from all but his own conscience.

There is another resolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general discontent, and is of so singular a nature that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be absolutely necessary by way of apology for so bold and unpopular an attempt. But so it is, that we have taken a desperate counsel, to produce into the world every distinguished action either of justice, prudence, generosity, charity, friendship, or publick spirit, which comes well attested to us. And although we shall neither here be so daring as to assign names, yet we shall hardly forbear to give some hints, that perhaps to the great displeasure of such deserving persons, may endanger a discovery.

For

For we think that even virtue itself should submit to such a mortification, as by its visibility and example will render it more useful to the world. But however, the readers of these papers need not be in pain of being overcharged with so dull and ungrateful a subject. And yet who knows, but such an occasion may be offered to us once in a year or two, after we have settled a correspondence round the kingdom.

But, after all our boast of materials sent us by our several emissaries, we may probably soon fall short, if the town will not be pleased to lend us farther asistance toward entertaining itself. The world best knows its own faults and virtues, and whatever is sent shall be faithfully returned back, only a little embellished according to the custom of authors. We do therefore demand and expect continual advertisements in great numbers to be sent to the printer of this paper, who has employed a judicious secretary, to collect such as may be most useful for the publick.

And although we do not intend to expose our own persons by mentioning names, yet we are so far from requiring the same caution in our correspondents, that, on the contrary, we expressly charge and command them, in all the facts they send us, to set down the names, titles, and places of abode at length; together with a very particular description of the persons, dresses, dispositions of the several lords, ladies, 'squires, madams, lawyers, gamesters, toupees, sots, wits, rakes, and informers, whom they shall have occasion to mention; otherwise it will not be possible for us to adjust our style to the different qualities and capacities of the persons concerned,

cerned, and treat them with the respect, or familiarity, that may be due to their stations and characters, which we are determined to observe with the utmost strictness, that none may have cause to complain.

## THE INTELLIGENCER. No. 3.

*Ipse per omnes*
*Ibit personas, et turbam reddet in unam.*

THE players having now almost done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the season; it may be no unpleasant speculation, to reflect a little upon this dramatick piece, so singular in the subject and manner, so much an original, and which has frequently given so very agreeable an entertainment.

Although an evil taste be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleasing a very great majority; so great, that the dislikers out of dulness or affectation will be silent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean is, what we call humour; which, in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to wit; if it be not rather the most useful and agreeable species of it.

I agree with sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our English tongue; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itself is peculiar to the English nation, because the contrary may be found in many Spanish, Italian, and French

productions: and particularly, whoever has a taste for true humour, will find a hundred instances of it in those volumes printed in France under the name of Le Theatre Italien; to say nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now I take the comedy, or farce (or whatever name the criticks will allow it) called the Beggar's Opera, to excel in this article of humour; and upon that merit to have met with such prodigious success, both here and in England.

As to poetry, eloquence, and musick, which are said to have most power over the minds of men; it is certain that very few have a taste or judgment of the excellencies of the two former; and if a man succeed in either, it is upon the authority of those few judges, that lend their taste to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in musick; and that among those who crowd the operas, nine in ten go thither merely out of curiosity, fashion, or affectation.

But a taste for humour is in some manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar: except upon subjects too refined, and superiour to their understanding.

And, as this taste of humour is purely natural, so is humour itself; neither is it a talent confined to men of wit or learning; for we observe it sometimes among common servants, and the meanest of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they possess.

I know very well, that this happy talent is contemptibly treated by criticks, under the name of low humour, or low comedy; but I know likewise that

that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the most wit of any nations in Europe, do most excel in it, and do most esteem it.

By what disposition of the mind, what influence of the stars, or what situation of the climate, this endowment is bestowed upon mankind, may be a question fit for philosophers to discuss. It is certainly the best ingredient toward that kind of satire, which is most useful, and gives the least offence; which, instead of lashing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And, although some things are too serious, solemn, or sacred, to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuses of them are certainly not; since it is allowed that corruptions in religion, politicks, and law, may be proper topicks for this kind of satire.

There are two ends that men propose in writing satire: one of them less noble than the other, as regarding nothing farther than the private satisfaction and pleasure of the writer; but without any view toward personal malice: the other is a publick spirit, prompting men of genius and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able. And as both these ends are innocent, so the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh, as men have to be ridiculous; and to expose vice, as another has to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a court, a ministry, or a senate, are they not amply paid by pensions, titles, and power, while I expect and desire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? yet,

if those who take offence think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the scene with them whenever they please.

But, if my design be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at least, I am sure it is the interest of those very courts and ministers, whose follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for, if it be reckoned a high point of wisdom to get the laughers on our side; it is much more easy, as well as wise, to get those on our side who can make millions laugh when they please.

My reason for mentioning courts and ministers (whom I never think on but with the most profound veneration), is, because an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be some reflection upon courtiers and statesmen, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true indeed, that Mr. Gay, the author of this piece, has been somewhat singular in the course of his fortunes; for it has happened, that after fourteen years attending the court, with a large stock of real merit, a modest and agreeable conversation, a hundred promises, and five hundred friends, he has failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reason. He lay under the suspicion of having written a libel, or lampoon against a great minister*. It is true, that great minister was demonstratively convinced, and publickly owned his conviction, that Mr. Gay was not the author; but having lain under the suspicion, it seemed very just that he should suffer the punishment; because, in

* Sir Robert Walpole.

this

this most reformed age, the virtues of a prime minister are no more to be suspected, than the chastity of Cæsar's wife.

It must be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the first of Mr. Gay's works, wherein he has been faulty with regard to courtiers and statesmen. For, to omit his other pieces, even in his fables, published within two years past, and dedicated to the duke of Cumberland, for which he was promised a reward, he has been thought somewhat too bold upon the courtiers. And although it be highly probable he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not considering that the malignity of some people, might misinterpret what he said to the disadvantage of present persons and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. Gay as a politician: and shall consider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he has, by a turn of humour entirely new, placed vices of all kinds in the strongest and most odious light; and thereby done eminent service both to religion and morality. This appears from the unparallelled success he has met with. All ranks, parties, and denominations of men, either crowding to see his opera, or reading it with delight in their closets; even ministers of state, whom he is thought to have most offended (next to those whom the actors represent) appearing frequently at the theatre, from a consciousness of their own innocence, and to convince the world how unjust a parallel, malice, envy, and disaffection to the government, have made.

I am assured that several worthy clergymen in this city went privately to see the Beggar's Opera

represented; and that the fleering coxcombs in the pit amused themselves with making discoveries, and spreading the names of those gentlemen round the audience.

I shall not pretend to vindicate a clergyman, who would appear openly in his habit at the theatre, with such a vicious crew as might probably stand round him, at such comedies and profane tragedies as are often represented. Besides, I know very well, that persons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cause of offence. But when the lords chancellors, who are keepers of the king's conscience; when the judges of the land, whose title is reverend; when ladies, who are bound by the rules of their sex to the strictest decency, appear in the theatre without censure; I cannot understand, why a young clergyman, who comes concealed out of curiosity to see an innocent and moral play, should be so highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who said, "he hoped none of his clergy were there." I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections against that reverend body planted in this city, and I wish there never may. But I should be very sorry that any of them should be so weak, as to imitate a court chaplain* in England, who preached against the Beggar's Opera, which will probably do more good than

* This court chaplain was Dr. Thomas Herring, then preacher at Lincoln's Inn. He was made rector of Blechingly in 1731, and the same year dean of Rochester: was raised to the see of Bangor in 1737, translated to York in 1743, and to Canterbury in 1747. He died in 1757, at the age of 64. See a letter of Dr. Herring to Mr. Duncombe (who had written two letters in justification of the Sermon against the Beggar's Opera) in the preface to "Archbishop "Herring's Seven Sermons on publick Occasions, 1763."

a thousand

a thousand sermons of so stupid, so injudicious, and so prostitute a divine.

In this happy performance of Mr. Gay's all the characters are just, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It discovers the whole system of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity, established among us, by which neither our lives nor our properties are secure, either in the highways, or in publick aſſemblies, or even in our own houses. It shows the miserable lives, and the constant fate, of those abandoned wretches: for how little they sell their lives and souls; betrayed by their whores, their comrades, and the receivers and purchasers of those theſts and robberies. This comedy contains likewise a satire, which, without inquiring whether it affects the present age, may possibly be useful in times to come; I mean, where the author takes the occasion of comparing the common robbers of the publick, and their several stratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the several arts of politicians in times of corruption.

This comedy likewise exposes, with great justice, that unnatural taste for Italian musick among us, which is wholly unsuitable to our northern climate, and the genius of the people, whereby we are overrun with Italian effeminacy, and Italian nonsense. An old gentleman said to me, that many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were prosecuted for it, he was sure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and singers; and then we should want nothing but stabbing, or poisoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but servile attachment to a party, affectation of singularity, lamentable dulness, mistaken zeal, or studied hypocrisy, can have the least reasonable objection against this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. Gay.

## THE INTELLIGENCER. No. 19.

Having, on the 12th of October last, received a letter signed ANDREW DEALER and PATRICK PENNYLESS, I believe the following PAPER, just come to my hands, will be a sufficient answer to it.

*Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.*

Not for yourselves, ye sheep, your fleeces grow.

N. B. In the following discourse, the AUTHOR personates a country gentleman in the north of Ireland. And this letter is supposed as directed to the DRAPIER.

SIR,

I AM a country gentleman, and a member of parliament, with an estate of about 1400l. a year; which, as a northern landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were esteemed to be not above half value; yet, by the intolerable

intolerable scarcity of silver, I lie under the greatest difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing necessary for my family from tradesmen, who are not able to be long out of their money. But the sufferings of me, and those of my rank, are trifles in comparison of what the meaner sort undergo; such as the buyers and sellers at fairs and markets; the shopkeepers in every town; and farmers in general; all those who travel with fish, poultry, pedlary-ware, and other conveniencies to sell: but more especially handicrafts-men, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both these kinds of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a double pistole, or a moidore (for we hardly have any gold of lower value left us) to divide it among themselves as they can: and this is generally done at an alehouse, or brandyshop; where, beside the cost of getting drunk (which is usually the case) they must pay ten pence or a shilling for changing their piece into silver to some huckstering fellow, who follows that trade. But, what is infinitely worse, those poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their oatmeal, and other necessaries of life, at almost double value; and consequently are not able to discharge half their score, especially under the scarceness of corn for two years past, and the melancholy disappointment of the present crop.

The causes of this, and a thousand other evils, are clear and manifest to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar; these indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badness of seasons; that their goods

goods bear no price, and the poor cannot find work; but their weak reasonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt born us by our neighbours and brethren, without the least grounds of provocation; who rejoice at our sufferings, although sometimes to their own disadvantage. They consider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually sent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you, and some other lovers of their country have so often observed, with such good inclinations, and so little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumstances in general, this complaint for the want of silver, may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a cut finger, when he is struck with the plague: and yet a poor fellow going to the gallows, may be allowed to feel the smart of wasps while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is so urging and vexatious in every kind of small traffick, and so hourly pressing upon all persons in the country whatsoever, that a hundred inconveniencies, of perhaps greater moment in themselves, have been tamely submitted to, with far less disquietude and murmur. And the case seems yet the harder, if it be true, what many skilful men assert, that nothing is more easy than a remedy; and, that the want of silver, in proportion to the little gold remaining among us, is altogether as unnecessary, as it is inconvenient. A person of distinction assured me very lately, that, in discoursing with the lord lieutenant* before his last

* The lord Carteret.

return

return to England, his excellency said, "He had "pressed the matter often, in proper time and "place, and to proper persons; and could not see "any difficulty of the least moment, that could "prevent us from being made easy upon this "article."

Whoever carries to England twenty-seven English shillings, and brings back one moidore of full weight, is a gainer of nine pence Irish: in a guinea, the advantage is three pence; and two pence in a pistole. The BANKERS, who are generally masters of all our gold and silver, with this advantage, have sent over as much of the latter as came into their hands. The value of one thousand moidores in silver would thus amount in clear profit to 37l. 10s. The shopkeepers, and other traders, who go to London to buy goods, followed the same practice; by which we have been driven into this insupportable distress.

To a common thinker it should seem, that nothing would be more easy than for the government to redress this evil, at any time they shall please. When the value of guineas was lowered in England from 21s. and 6d. to only 21s. the consequences to this kingdom were obvious, and manifest to us all: and a sober man may be allowed at least to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of coin among us was not then made; much more, why it has never been since. It would surely require no very profound skill in algebra to reduce the difference of nine pence in thirty shillings, or three pence in a guinea to lest than a farthing; and so small a fraction could be no temptation either to bankers to hazard their

their silver at sea, or tradesmen to load themselves with it in their journies to England. In my humble opinion it would be no unseasonable condescension, if the government would graciously please to signify to the poor loyal protestant subjects of Ireland, either that this miserable want of silver is not possibly to be remedied in any degree by the nicest skill in arithmetick; or else that it does not stand with the good pleasure of England to suffer any silver at all among us. In the former case, it would be madness to expect impossibilities; and in the other, we must submit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the CONQUEROR.

The question has been often put in printed papers, by the DRAPIER and others, or perhaps by the same WRITER under different styles, why this kingdom should not be permitted to have a mint of its own for the coinage of gold, silver, and copper; which is a power exercised by many bishops, and every petty prince, in Germany? But this question has never been answered; nor the least application, that I have heard of, made to the crown from hence for the grant of a publick mint; although it stands upon record, that several cities, and corporations here, had the liberty of coining silver. I can see no reasons, why we alone, of all nations, are thus restrained, but such as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the first imperial kingdom since Nimrod, which ever wanted power to coin their own money.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any subject to petition either the prince or the parliament, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a subject of Ireland

Ireland, I profess I cannot determine: nor will undertake that the printer shall not be prosecuted in a court of justice for publishing my wishes, that a poor shopkeeper might be able to change a guinea or a moidore, when a customer comes for a crown's worth of goods. I have known less crimes punished with the utmost severity, under the title of disaffection. And I cannot but approve the wisdom of the ancients, who, after Astrea had fled from the earth, at least took care to provide three upright judges for Hell. Men's ears among us are indeed grown so nice, that whoever happens to think out of fashion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not so much as complain of the toothach, lest our weak and busy dabblers in politicks, should be ready to swear against him for disaffection.

There was a method practised by sir Ambrose Crawley, the great dealer in iron works, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country, under this great exigence, have not thought fit to imitate. In the several towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave notes instead of money (from two pence to twenty shillings) which passed current in all shops and markets, as well as in houses, where meat or drink was sold. I see no reason, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with some degree of success; or, at least, may not serve as a poor expedient in this our blessed age of paper; which, as it discharges all our greatest payments, may be equally useful in the smaller, and may just keep us alive, until an English act of parliament shall forbid it.

I have been told, that among some of our poorest

American

American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little money among them into halves and quarters, for the conveniencies of small traffick. How happy should we be, in comparison of our present condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the sheers, for want of a mint, upon our foreign gold, by clipping it into half crowns, and shillings, and even lower denominations; for beggars must be content to live upon scraps; and it would be our felicity, that these scraps could never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of these projects will avail, I see nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods, like the wild Indians, with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this disadvantage on our side, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is sent away, without so much as a recompense in bugles or glass in return.

It must needs be a very comfortable circumstance in the present juncture, that some thousand families are gone, are going, or preparing to go from hence, and settle themselves in America: the poorer sort for want of work; the farmers, whose beneficial bargains are now become a rackrent too hard to be born, and those who have any ready money, or can purchase any by the sale of their goods or leases, because they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any money to buy the very necessaries of life, are hastening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, corn among us carries a very high price; but it is for the same reason,

son, that rats and cats and dead horses have been often bought for gold in a town besieged.

There is a person of quality in my neighbourhood, who, twenty years ago, when he was just come to age, being unexperienced, and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and consequently, by the rise of lands since that time, looked upon his estate to be set at half value: but numbers of these tenants or their descendants, are now offering to sell their leases by cant*, even those which were for lives, some of them renewable for ever, and some feefarms, which the landlord himself has bought in at half the price they would have yielded seven years ago. And some leases let at the same time for lives, have been given up to him, without any consideration at all.

This is the most favourable face of all things at present among us; I say, among us of the North, who were esteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how soon, this misery and desolation may spread, it is easy to foresee.

The vast sums of money daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our gold in these parts, almost as much as of our silver. And the good wives, who come to our houses, offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependance lies, for so little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half support their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthusiasm spread

* Cant or auction.

among

among our Northern people, of sheltering themselves in the continent of America, has no other foundation than their present insupportable condition at home. I have made all possible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from those plantations, sufficient to make them undertake so tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all seasons of the year, and so ill accommodated in their ships, that many of them have died miserably in their passage, but could never get one satisfactory answer. Somebody, they knew not who, had written letters to his friend or cousin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a penny an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the English established in those colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the wild Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion. We read of some barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other service than to blunt their enemies swords, and afterward to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, who transport themselves, are settled into those interjacent tracts, as a screen against the insults of the savages; and many have as much lands as they can clear from the woods, at a very reasonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a hundred years purchase by their labour. Now, beside the fox's reason*, which inclines all those who have already ventured thither

* The fox who having lost his tail, would have persuaded the rest to cut off theirs.

to

to represent every thing in a false light, as well for justifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their misery, the governing people in those plantations have also wisely provided, that no letters shall be suffered to pass from thence hither, without being first viewed by the council; by which, our people here, are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally discovered some months ago by an honest man, who, having transported himself and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of such a voyage, and to discourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, has produced very little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for, as it is natural to a man in a fever to turn often, although without any hope of ease; or, when he is pursued, to leap down a precipice, to avoid an enemy just at his back; so, men in the extremest degree of misery and want, will naturally fly to the first appearance of relief, let it be ever so vain or visionary.

You may observe, that I have very superficially touched the subject I began with, and with the utmost caution; for I know how criminal the least complaint has been thought, however seasonable or just or honestly intended, which has forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at least in my time, be interpreted by innuendoes as a false, scandalous, seditious, and disaffected action, for a man to roar under an acute fit of the gout;

which, beside the loss and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, so severely afflicted with that distemper.

I wish you good success, but I can promise you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up without the least view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but villains and betrayers of their country can be your enemies. Upon which I have little to say, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that sort; and therefore, as you may easily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, SIR,
your most obedient
humble servant,

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728.

A. NORTH.

HINTS

# HINTS

TOWARD

# AN ESSAY

ON

# CONVERSATION*.

I HAVE observed few obvious subjects to have been so seldom, or at least so slightly handled as this; and indeed I know few so difficult, to be treated as it ought, nor yet, upon which, there seems so much to be said.

Most things pursued by men for the happiness of publick or private life, our wit or folly have so refined, that they seldom subsist but in idea; a true friend, a good marriage, a perfect form of government, with some others, require so many ingredients, so good in their several kinds, and so much niceness in mixing them, that for some thousands of years men have despaired of reducing their schemes to perfection: but, in conversation, it is, or might be otherwise; for here we are only to avoid a multitude of errours, which, although a matter of some difficulty, may be in every man's

* Dr. Swift adopted this title from sir William Temple.

power, for want of which it remains as mere an idea as the other. Therefore it seems to me, that the truest way to understand conversation, is to know the faults and errours to which it is subject, and from thence every man to form maxims to himself whereby it may be regulated, because it requires few talents to which most men are not born, or at least may not acquire, without any great genius or study. For, nature has left every man a capacity of being agreeable, though not of shining in company; and there are a hundred men sufficiently qualified for both, who, by a very few faults, that they might correct in half an hour, are not so much as tolerable.

I was prompted to write my thoughts upon this subject by mere indignation, to reflect that so useful and innocent a pleasure, so fitted for every period and condition of life, and so much in all men's power, should be so much neglected and abused.

And in this discourse it will be necessary to note those errours that are obvious, as well as others which are seldomer observed, since there are few so obvious, or acknowledged, into which most men, some time or other, are not apt to run.

For instance: Nothing is more generally exploded than the folly of talking too much; yet I rarely remember to have seen five people together, where some one among them has not been predominant in that kind, to the great constraint and disgust of all the rest. But among such as deal in multitudes of words, none are comparable to the sober deliberate talker, who proceeds with much thought and caution, makes his preface, branches out into several digressions, finds a hint that puts him in mind of another story,

story, which he promises to tell you when this is done; comes back regularly to his subject, cannot readily call to mind some person's name, holding his head, complains of his memory; the whole company all this while in suspense; at length says, it is no matter, and so goes on. And, to crown the business, it perhaps proves at last a story the company has heard fifty times before; or, at best, some insipid adventure of the relater.

Another general fault in conversation, is that of those who affect to talk of themselves: Some, without any ceremony, will run over the history of their lives; will relate the annals of their diseases, with the several symptoms and circumstances of them; will enumerate the hardships and injustice they have suffered in court, in parliament, in love, or in law. Others, are more dextrous, and with great art will lie on the watch to hook in their own praise: They will call a witness to remember, they always foretold what would happen in such a case, but none would believe them; they advised such a man from the beginning, and told him the consequences, just as they happened; but he would have his own way. Others, make a vanity of telling their faults; they are the strangest men in the world; they cannot dissemble; they own it is a folly; they have lost abundance of advantages by it; but if you would give them the world, they cannot help it; there is something in their nature that abhors insincerity and constraint; with many other insufferable topicks of the same altitude.

Of such mighty importance every man is to himself, and ready to think he is so to others; without once making this easy and obvious reflection, that

his affairs can have no more weight with other men, than theirs have with him; and how little that is, he is sensible enough.

Where company has met, I often have observed two persons discover, by some accident, that they were bred together at the same school or university; after which the rest are condemned to silence, and to listen while these two are refreshing each other's memory, with the arch tricks and passages of themselves and their comrades.

I know a great officer of the army who will sit for some time with a supercilious and impatient silence, full of anger and contempt for those who are talking; at length of a sudden demand audience, decide the matter in a short dogmatical way; then withdraw within himself again, and vouchsafe to talk no more, until his spirits circulate again to the same point.

There are some faults in conversation, which none are so subject to as the men of wit, nor ever so much as when they are with each other. If they have opened their mouths, without endeavouring to say a witty thing, they think it is so many words lost: it is a torment to the hearers, as much as to themselves, to see them upon the rack for invention, and in perpetual constraint, with so little success. They must do something extraordinary, in order to acquit themselves, and answer their character, else the standers-by may be disappointed, and be apt to think them only like the rest of mortals. I have known two men of wit industriously brought together, in order to entertain the company, where they have made a very ridiculous figure, and provided all the mirth at their own expense.

I know

I know a man of wit, who is never easy but where he can be allowed to dictate and preside; he neither expects to be informed or entertained, but to display his own talents. His business is to be good company, and not good conversation; and therefore he chooses to frequent those who are content to listen, and profess themselves his admirers. And indeed, the worst conversation I ever remember to have heard in my life, was that at Will's coffeehouse, where the wits (as they were called) used formerly to assemble; that is to say, five or six men, who had writ plays, or at least prologues, or had share in a miscellany, came thither, and entertained one another with their trifling composures, in so important an air, as if they had been the noblest efforts of human nature, or that the fate of kingdoms depended on them; and they were usually attended with an humble audience of young students from the inns of court, or the universities; who, at due distance, listened to these oracles, and returned home with great contempt for their law and philosophy, their heads filled with trash, under the name of politeness, criticism, and belles lettres.

By these means, the poets, for many years past, were all overrun with pedantry. For, as I take it, the word is not properly used; because pedantry is the too frequent or unseasonable obtruding our own knowledge in common discourse, and placing too great a value upon it; by which definition, men of the court, or the army, may be as guilty of pedantry, as a philosopher or a divine; and it is the same vice in women, when they are overcopious upon the subject of their petticoats, or their fans, or their china. For which reason, although it be a piece

of prudence, as well as good manners, to put men upon talking on subjects they are best versed in, yet that is a liberty a wise man could hardly take; because, beside the imputation of pedantry, it is what he would never improve by.

The great town is usually provided with some player, mimick, or buffoon, who has a general reception at the good tables; familiar and domestick with persons of the first quality, and usually sent for at every meeting to divert the company; against which I have no objection. You go there as to a farce or a puppetshow; your business is only to laugh in season, either out of inclination or civility, while this merry companion is acting his part. It is a business he has undertaken, and we are to suppose he is paid for his day's work. I only quarrel, when in select and private meetings, where men of wit and learning are invited to pass an evening, this jester should be admitted to run over his circle of tricks, and make the whole company unfit for any other conversation, beside the indignity of confounding men's talents at so shameful a rate.

Raillery is the finest part of conversation; but, as it is our usual custom to counterfeit and adulterate whatever is too dear for us, so we have done with this, and turned it all into what is generally called repartee, or being smart; just as when an expensive fashion comes up, those who are not able to reach it, content themselves with some paltry imitation. It now passes for raillery to run a man down in discourse, to put him out of countenance, and make him ridiculous; sometimes to expose the defects of his person or understanding; on all which occasions, he is obliged not to be angry, to avoid the imputation

tation of not being able to take a jest. It is admirable to observe one who is dextrous at this art, singling out a weak adversary, getting the laugh on his side, and then carrying all before him. The French, from whence we borrow the word, have a quite different idea of the thing, and so had we in the politer age of our fathers. Raillery, was to say something that at first appeared a reproach or reflection, but, by some turn of wit unexpected and surprising, ended always in a compliment, and to the advantage of the person it was addressed to. And surely one of the best rules in conversation is, never to say a thing which any of the company can reasonably wish we had rather left unsaid: nor can there any thing be well more contrary to the ends for which people meet together, than to part unsatisfied with each other or themselves.

There are two faults in conversation which appear very different, yet arise from the same root, and are equally blamable; I mean an impatience to interrupt others; and the uneasiness of being interrupted ourselves. The two chief ends of conversation are to entertain and improve those we are among, or to receive those benefits ourselves; which whoever will consider, cannot easily run into either of those two errours; because when any man speaks in company, it is to be supposed he does it for his hearers sake, and not his own; so that common discretion will teach us not to force their attention, if they are not willing to lend it; nor, on the other side, to interrupt him who is in possession, because that is in the grossest manner to give the preference to our own good sense.

There are some people, whose good manners will not

not suffer them to interrupt you; but what is almost as bad, will discover abundance of impatience, and lie upon the watch until you have done, because they have started something in their own thoughts, which they long to be delivered of. Mean time, they are so far from regarding what passes, that their imaginations are wholly turned upon what they have in reserve, for fear it should slip out of their memory; and thus they confine their invention, which might otherwise range over a hundred things full as good, and that might be much more naturally introduced.

There is a sort of rude familiarity, which some people, by practising among their intimates, have introduced into their general conversation, and would have it pass for innocent freedom or humour; which is a dangerous experiment in our northern climate, where all the little decorum and politeness we have, are purely forced by art, and are so ready to lapse into barbarity. This, among the Romans, was the raillery of slaves, of which we have many instances in Plautus. It seems to have been introduced among us by Cromwell, who, by preferring the scum of the people, made it a court-entertainment, of which I have heard many particulars; and considering all things were turned upside down, it was reasonable and judicious: although it was a piece of policy found out to ridicule a point of honour in the other extreme, when the smallest word misplaced among gentlemen ended in a duel.

There are some men excellent at telling a story, and provided with a plentiful stock of them, which they can draw out upon occasion in all companies; and, considering how low conversation runs now among

among us, it is not altogether a contemptible talent; however, it is subject to two unavoidable defects, frequent repetition, and being soon exhausted; so that whoever values this gift in himself, has need of a good memory, and ought frequently to shift his company, that he may not discover the weakness of his fund; for those who are thus endowed, have seldom any other revenue, but live upon the main stock.

Great speakers in publick are seldom agreeable in private conversation, whether their faculty be natural, or acquired by practice, and often venturing. Natural elocution, although it may seem a paradox, usually springs from a barrenness of invention, and of words; by which men who have only one stock of notions upon every subject, and one set of phrases to express them in, they swim upon the superficies, and offer themselves on every occasion; therefore, men of much learning, and who know the compass of a language, are generally the worst talkers on a sudden, until much practice has inured and emboldened them; because they are confounded with plenty of matter, variety of notions, and of words, which they cannot readily choose, but are perplexed and entangled by too great a choice; which is no disadvantage in private conversation; where, on the other side, the talent of haranguing is, of all others, most insupportable.

Nothing has spoiled men more for conversation, than the character of being wits; to support which, they never fail of encouraging a number of followers and admirers, who list themselves in their service, wherein they find their accounts on both sides by pleasing their mutual vanity. This has given the former

former such an air of superiority, and made the latter so pragmatical, that neither of them are well to be endured. I say nothing here of the itch of dispute and contradiction, telling of lies, or of those who are troubled with the disease called the wandering of the thoughts, so that they are never present in mind at what passes in discourse; for, whoever labours under any of these possessions, is as unfit for conversation as a madman in Bedlam.

I think I have gone over most of the errours in conversation, that have fallen under my notice or memory, except some that are merely personal, and others too gross to need exploding; such as lewd or prophane talk; but I pretend only to treat the errours of conversation in general, and not the several subjects of discourse, which would be infinite. Thus we see how human nature is most debased, by the abuse of that faculty which is held the great distinction between men and brutes; and how little advantage we make of that, which might be the greatest, the most lasting, and the most innocent, as well as useful pleasure of life: in default of which, we are forced to take up with those poor amusements of dress and visiting, or the more pernicious ones of play, drink, and vicious amours; whereby the nobility and gentry of both sexes are entirely corrupted both in body and mind, and have lost all notions of love, honour, friendship, generosity; which, under the name of fopperies, have been for some time laughed out of doors.

This degeneracy of conversation, with the pernicious consequences thereof upon our humours and dispositions, has been owing, among other causes, to the custom arisen, for some time past, of excluding

ing women from any share in our society, farther than in parties at play, or dancing, or in the pursuit of an amour. I take the highest period of politeness in England (and it is of the same date in France) to have been the peaceable part of king Charles the First's reign; and from what we read of those times, as well as from the accounts I have formerly met with from some who lived in that court, the methods then used for raising and cultivating conversation were altogether different from ours: several ladies, whom we find celebrated by the poets of that age, had assemblies at their houses, where persons of the best understanding, and of both sexes, met to pass the evenings in discoursing upon whatever agreeable subjects were occasionally started; and although we are apt to ridicule the sublime Platonick notions they had, or personated, in love and friendship, I conceive their refinements were grounded upon reason, and that a little grain of the romance is no ill ingredient to preserve and exalt the dignity of human nature, without which it is apt to degenerate into every thing that is sordid, vicious, and low. If there were no other use in the conversation of ladies, it is sufficient that it would lay a restraint upon those odious topicks of immodesty and indecencies, into which the rudeness of our northern genius is so apt to fall. And, therefore, it is observable in those sprightly gentlemen about the town, who are so very dextrous at entertaining a vizard mask in the park or the playhouse, that, in the company of ladies of virtue and honour, they are silent and disconcerted, and out of their element.

There are some people who think they sufficiently acquit

acquit themselves, and entertain their company, with relating facts of no consequence, nor at all out of the road of such common incidents as happen every day; and this I have observed more frequently among the Scots than any other nation, who are very careful not to omit the minutest circumstances of time or place; which kind of discourse, if it were not a little relieved by the uncouth terms and phrases, as well as accent and gesture, peculiar to that country, would be hardly tolerable. It is not a fault in company to talk much; but to continue it long is certainly one; for, if the majority of those who are got together be naturally silent or cautious, the conversation will flag, unless it be often renewed by one among them, who can start new subjects, provided he does not dwell upon them, that leave room for answers and replies.

A LETTER

A

# LETTER OF ADVICE

TO

# A YOUNG POET.

TOGETHER WITH A PROPOSAL FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF POETRY IN IRELAND.

Sic honor & nomen divinis vatibus atque
Carminibus venit.—— HOR.

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SIR,

AS I have always professed a friendship for you, and have therefore been more inquisitive into your conduct and studies than is usually agreeable to young men; so I must own I am not a little pleased to find, by your last account, that you have entirely bent your thoughts to English poetry, with design to make it your profession and business. Two reasons incline me to encourage you in this study; one, the narrowness of your present circumstances; the other, the great use of poetry to mankind and society, and in every employment of life*. Upon these

* "Perhaps it is one of the best things that can be said of poetry, "that it helps us to pass over the toils and trou les of this tiresome "journey, our life; as horses are encouraged and spirited up the "better to bear their labour, by the jingling of bells about their "heads. Indeed, as to myself, I have been used to this odd cor-

"dial

these views, I cannot but commend your wise resolution to withdraw so early from other unprofitable and severe studies, and betake yourself to that, which, if you have good luck, will advance your fortune, and make you an ornament to your friends and your country. It may be your justification, and farther encouragement, to consider, that history, ancient or modern, cannot furnish you an instance of one person, eminent in any station, who was not in some measure versed in poetry, or at least a well-wisher to the professors of it; neither would I despair to prove, if legally called thereto, that it is impossible to be a good soldier, divine, or lawyer, or even so much as an eminent bellman, or balladsinger, without some taste of poetry, and a competent skill in versification: but I say the less of this, because the renowned sir P. Sidney has exhausted the subject before me, in his defence of poesie, on which I shall make no other remark but this, that he argues there as if he really believed himself.

For my own part, having never made one verse since I was at school, where I suffered too much for my blunders in poetry to have any love to it ever since, I am not able, from any experience of my own, to give you those instructions you desire; neither will I declare (for I love to conceal my pas-

" dial so long, that it has no effect upon me; but you, madam, " are in your honeymoon of poetry; you have seen only the " smiles, and enjoyed the caresses, of Apollo. Nothing is so " pleasant to a muse as the first children of the imagination; but, " when once she comes to find it mere conjugal duty, and the care " of her numerous progeny daily grows upon her, it is all a sour " tax for past pleasure. I find by experience, that his own fiddle is " no great pleasure to a common fiddler, after once the first good " conceit of himself is lost." Pope, Letters to a Lady, p. 52.

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sions) how much I lament my neglect of poetry in those periods of my life which were properest for improvements in that ornamental part of learning; besides, my age and infirmities might well excuse me to you, as being unqualified to be your writing-master, with spectacles on, and a shaking hand. However, that I may not be altogether wanting to you in an affair of so much importance to your credit and happiness, I shall here give you some scattered thoughts upon the subject, such as I have gathered by reading and observation.

There is a certain little instrument, the first of those in use with scholars, and the meanest, considering the materials of it, whether it be a joint of wheaten straw (the old Arcadian pipe) or just three inches of slender wire, or a stripped feather, or a corking pin. Farthermore, this same diminutive tool, for the posture of it, usually reclines its head on the thumb of the right hand, sustains the foremost finger upon its breast, and is itself supported by the second. This is commonly known by the name of a fescue; I shall here therefore condescend to be this little elementary guide, and point out some particulars, which may be of use to you in your hornbook of poetry.

In the first place, I am not yet convinced, that it is at all necessary for a modern poet to believe in God, or have any serious sense of religion; and in this article you must give me leave to suspect your capacity: because, religion being what your mother taught you, you will hardly find it possible, at least not easy, all at once to get over those early prejudices, so far as to think it better to be a great wit, than a good christian, though herein the general

practice is against you; so that if, upon inquiry, you find in yourself any such softnesses, owing to the nature of your education, my advice is, that you forthwith lay down your pen, as having no farther business with it in the way of poetry; unless you will be content to pass for an insipid, or will submit to be hooted at by your fraternity, or can disguise your religion, as well-bred men do their learning, in complaisance to company.

For, poetry, as it has been managed for some years past, by such as make a business of it (and of such only I speak here, for I do not call him a poet that writes for his diversion, any more than that gentleman a fiddler who amuses himself with a violin) I say, our poetry of late has been altogether disengaged from the narrow notions of virtue and piety, because it has been found, by experience of our professors, that the smallest quantity of religion, like a single drop of malt liquor in claret, will muddy and discompose the brightest poetical genius.

Religion supposes Heaven and Hell, the word of God, and sacraments, and twenty other circumstances, which, taken seriously, are a wonderful check to wit and humour, and such as a true poet cannot possibly give into, with a saving to his poetical license; but yet it is necessary for him, that others should believe these things seriously, that his wit may be exercised on their wisdom, for so doing; for though a wit need not have religion, religion is necessary to a wit, as an instrument is to the hand that plays upon it: and for this, the moderns plead the example of their great idol Lucretius, who had not been by half so eminent a poet (as he truly was) but that he stood tiptoe on religion,

ligion, *Religio pedibus subjecta*, and, by that rising ground, had the advantage of all the poets of his own or following times, who were not mounted on the same pedestal.

Besides, it is farther to be observed, that Petronius, another of their favourites, speaking of the qualifications of a good poet, insists chiefly on the *liber spiritus;* by which I have been ignorant enough heretofore to suppose he meant, a good invention, or great compass of thought, or a sprightly imagination: but I have learned a better construction, from the opinion and practice of the moderns; and, taking it literally for a free spirit, *i. e.* a spirit, or mind, free or disengaged from all prejudices concerning God, religion, and another world, it is to me a plain account why our present set of poets are, and hold themselves obliged to be, free-thinkers.

But, although I cannot recommend religion upon the practice of some of our most eminent English poets, yet I can justly advise you, from their example, to be conversant in the Scriptures, and, if possible, to make yourself entirely master of them; in which, however, I intend nothing less than imposing upon you a task of piety. Far be it from me to desire you to believe them, or lay any great stress upon their authority; in that you may do as you think fit; but to read them as a piece of necessary furniture for a wit and a poet; which is a very different view from that of a christian. For I have made it my observation, that the greatest wits have been the best textuaries: our modern poets are, all to a man, almost as well read in the Scriptures, as some of our divines, and often abound

more with the phrase. They have read them historically, critically, musically, comically, poetically, and every other way except religiously, and have found their account in doing so. For the Scriptures are undoubtedly a fund of wit, and a subject for wit. You may, according to the modern practice, be witty upon them, or out of them: and, to speak the truth, but for them, I know not what our playwrights would do for images, allusions, similitudes, examples, or even language itself. Shut up the Sacred Books, and I would be bound our wit would run down like an alarum, or fall as the stocks did, and ruin half the poets in these kingdoms. And if that were the case, how would most of that tribe (all, I think, but the immortal Addison, who made a better use of his Bible, and a few more) who dealt so freely in that fund, rejoice that they had drawn out in time, and left the present generation of poets to be the bubbles.

But here I must enter one caution, and desire you to take notice, that in this advice of reading the Scriptures, I had not the least thought concerning your qualification that way for poetical orders; which I mention, because I find a notion of that kind advanced by one of our English poets, and is, I suppose, maintained by the rest. He says to Spencer, in a pretended vision,

" ——— With hands laid on, ordain me fit
" For the great cure and ministry of wit."

Which passage is, in my opinion, a notable allusion to the Scriptures; and making but reasonable allowances for the small circumstance of profaneness, bordering close upon blasphemy, is inimitably fine;

fine; beside some useful discoveries made in it, as, that there are bishops in poetry, that these bishops must ordain young poets, and with laying on hands; and that poetry is a cure of souls; and, consequently speaking, those who have such cures ought to be poets, and too often are so: and indeed, as of old, poets and priests were one and the same function, the alliance of those ministerial offices is to this day happily maintained in the same persons; and this I take to be the only justifiable reason for that appellation which they so much affect, I mean the modest title of divine poets. However, having never been present at the ceremony of ordaining to the priesthood of poetry, I own I have no notion of the thing, and shall say the less of it here.

The Scriptures then being generally both the fountain and subject of modern wit, I could do no less than give them the preference in your reading. After a thorough acquaintance with them, I would advise you to turn your thoughts to human literature, which yet I say more in compliance with vulgar opinions, than according to my own sentiments.

For, indeed, nothing has surprised me more, than to see the prejudices of mankind as to this matter of human learning, who have generally thought it is necessary to be a good scholar, in order to be a good poet; than which nothing is falser in fact, or more contrary to practice and experience. Neither will I dispute the matter if any man will undertake to show me one professed poet now in being, who is any thing of what may be justly called a scholar; or is the worse poet for that, but perhaps the better, for being so little encum-

bered with the pedantry of learning: it is true, the contrary was the opinion of our forefathers, which we of this age have devotion enough to receive from them on their own terms, and unexamined, but not sense enough to perceive it was a gross mistake in them. So Horace has told us:

" Scribendi recte sapere est & principium & fons,
" Rem tibi Socraticæ poterunt ostendere chartæ."

But, to see the different casts of men's heads, some, not inferiour to that poet in understanding (if you will take their own word for it) do see no consequence in this rule, and are not ashamed to declare themselves of a contrary opinion. Do not many men write well in common account, who have nothing of that principle? Many are too wise to be poets, and others too much poets to be wise. Must a man, forsooth, be no less than a philosopher to be a poet, when it is plain that some of the greatest idiots of the age are our prettiest performers that way? And for this, I appeal to the judgment and observation of mankind. Sir Ph. Sidney's notable remark upon this nation, may not be improper to mention here. He says, " In our neighbour " country Ireland, where true learning goes very " bare, yet are their poets held in devout reve- " rence;" which shows, that learning is no way necessary either to the making of a poet, or judging of him. And farther, to see the fate of things, notwithstanding our learning here is as bare as ever, yet are our poets not held, as formerly, in devout reverence; but are, perhaps, the most contemptible race of mortals now in this kingdom, which is no less to be wondered at, than lamented.

Some

Some of the old philosophers were poets, as, according to the forementioned author, Socrates and Plato were; which, however, is what I did not know before; but that does not say that all poets are, or that any need be, philosophers, otherwise than as those are so called who are a little out at the elbows. In which sense the great Shakspeare might have been a philosopher; but was no scholar, yet was an excellent poet. Neither do I think a late most judicious critick so much mistaken, as others do, in advancing this opinion, that "Shak-"speare had been a worse poet, had he been a "better scholar:" and sir W. Davenant is another instance in the same kind. Nor must it be forgotten, that Plato was an avowed enemy to poets; which is, perhaps, the reason why poets have been always at enmity with his profession; and have rejected all learning and philosophy, for the sake of that one philosopher. As I take the matter, neither philosophy, nor any part of learning, is more necessary to poetry (which, if you will believe the same author, is "the sum of all learning") than to know the theory of light, and the several proportions and diversifications of it in particular colours, is to a good painter.

Whereas therefore, a certain author, called Petronius Arbiter, going upon the same mistake, has confidently declared, that one ingredient of a good poet, is "*Mens ingenti literarum flumine inundata*; I do on the contrary, declare, that this his assertion (to speak of it in the softest terms) is no better than an invidious and unhandsome reflection on all the gentlemen poets of these times; for with his good leave, much less than a flood, or inundation,

will serve the turn; and, to my certain knowledge, some of our greatest wits in your poetical way, have not as much real learning as would cover a sixpence in the bottom of a bason; nor do I think the worse of them; for, to speak my private opinion, I am for every man's working upon his own materials, and producing only what he can find within himself, which is commonly a better stock than the owner knows it to be. I think flowers of wit ought to spring, as those in a garden do, from their own root and stem, without foreign assistance. I would have a man's wit rather like a fountain, that feeds itself invisibly, than a river, that is supplied by several streams from abroad.

Or, if it be necessary, as the case is with some barren wits, to take in the thoughts of others, in order to draw forth their own, as dry pumps will not play till water is thrown into them; in that necessity, I would recommend some of the approved standard authors of antiquity for your perusal, as a poet and a wit; because, maggots being what you look for, as monkeys do for vermin in their keepers heads, you will find they abound in good old authors, as in rich old cheese, not in the new; and for that reason you must have the classicks, especially the most wormeaten of them, often in your hands.

But with this caution, that you are not to use those ancients as unlucky lads do their old fathers, and make no conscience of picking their pockets and pillaging them. Your business is not to steal from them, but to improve upon them, and make their sentiments your own; which is an effect of great judgment; and, though difficult, yet very possible, without

without the scurvy imputation of filching; for I humbly conceive, though I light my candle at my neighbour's fire, that does not alter the property, or make the wick, the wax, or the flame, or the whole candle, less my own.

Possibly you may think it a very severe task, to arrive at a competent knowledge of so many of the ancients as excel in their way; and indeed it would be really so, but for the short and easy method lately found out of abstracts, abridgments, summaries, &c. which are admirable expedients for being very learned with little or no reading; and have the same use with burning-glasses, to collect the diffused rays of wit and learning in authors, and make them point with warmth and quickness upon the reader's imagination. And to this is nearly related that other modern device of consulting indexes, which is to read books Hebraically, and begin where others usually end. And this is a compendious way of coming to an acquaintance with authors; for authors are to be used like lobsters, you must look for the best meat in the tails, and lay the bodies back again in the dish. Your cunningest thieves (and what else are readers, who only read to borrow, *i. e.* to steal) use to cut off the portmanteau from behind, without staying to dive into the pockets of the owner. Lastly, you are taught thus much in the very elements of philosophy; for one of the finest rules in logick is, *Finis est primus in intentione.*

The learned world is therefore most highly indebted to a late painful and judicious editor of the classicks, who has laboured in that new way with exceeding felicity. Every author, by his management, sweats under himself, being overloaded with his own index,

index, and carries, like a north-country pedlar, all his substance and furniture upon his back, and with as great variety of trifles. To him let all young students make their compliments for so much time and pains saved in the pursuit of useful knowledge; for whoever shortens a road, is a benefactor to the publick, and to every particular person who has occasion to travel that way.

But to proceed. I have lamented nothing more in my time, than the disuse of some ingenious little plays, in fashion with young folks when I was a boy, and to which the great facility of that age, above ours, in composing, was certainly owing; and, if any thing has brought a damp upon the versification of these times, we have no farther than this to go for the cause of it. Now, could these sports be happily revived, I am of opinion your wisest course would be to apply your thoughts to them, and never fail to make a party when you can, in those profitable diversions. For example, crambo is of extraordinary use to good rhiming, and rhiming is what I have ever accounted the very essential of a good poet: and in that notion I am not singular; for the aforesaid sir P. Sidney has declared, "That the "chief life of modern versifying consists in the like "sounding of words, which we call rhime;" which is an authority, either without exception, or above any reply. Wherefore, you are ever to try a good poem as you would sound a pipkin; and if it rings well upon the knuckle, be sure there is no flaw in it. Verse without rhime, is a body without a soul (for the "chief life consisteth in the rhime") or a bell without a clapper; which, in strictness, is no bell, as being neither of use nor delight. And the

same

same ever honoured knight, with so musical an ear, had that veneration for the tuneableness and chiming of verse, that he speaks of a poet as one that has "the reverend title of a rhimer." Our celebrated Milton has done these nations great prejudice in this particular, having spoiled as many reverend rhimers, by his example, as he has made real poets.

For which reason, I am overjoyed to hear that a very ingenious youth of this town is now upon the useful design (for which he is never enough to be commended) of bestowing rhime upon Milton's Paradise Lost, which will make the poem, in that only defective, more heroick and sonorous than it hitherto has been. I wish the gentleman success in the performance; and, as it is a work in which a young man could not be more happily employed, or appear in with greater advantage to his character, so I am concerned that it did not fall out to be your province.

With much the same view, I would recommend to you the witty play of pictures and mottoes, which will furnish your imagination with great store of images and suitable devices. We of these kingdoms have found our account in this diversion, as little as we consider or acknowledge it; for to this we owe our eminent felicity in posies of rings, mottoes of snuffboxes, the humours of signposts with their elegant inscriptions, &c. in which kind of productions not any nation in the world, no not the Dutch themselves, will presume to rival us.

For much the same reason, it may be proper for you to have some insight into the play called, What

is

is it like? as of great use in common practice, to quicken slow capacities, and improve the quickest: but the chief end of it is, to supply the fancy with varieties of similes for all subjects. It will teach you to bring things to a likeness, which have not the least imaginable conformity in nature, which is properly creation, and the very business of a poet, as his name implies; and let me tell you, a good poet can no more be without a stock of similes by him, than a shoemaker without his lasts. He should have them sized, and ranged, and hung up in order in his shop, ready for all customers, and shaped to the feet of all sorts of verse: and here I could more fully (and I long to do it) insist upon the wonderful harmony and resemblance between a poet and a shoemaker, in many circumstances common to both; such as the binding of their temples, the stuff they work upon, and the paring-knife they use, &c. but that I would not digress, nor seem to trifle in so serious a matter.

Now I say, if you apply yourself to these diminutive sports (not to mention others of equal ingenuity, such as draw gloves, cross purposes, questions and commands, and the rest) it is not to be conceived what benefit (of nature) you will find by them, and how they will open the body of your invention. To these devote your spare hours, or rather spare all your hours to them, and then you will act as becomes a wise man, and make even diversions an improvement; like the inimitable management of the bee, which does the whole business of life at once, and at the same time both feeds, and works, and diverts itself.

Your own prudence will, I doubt not, direct you to

to take a place every evening among the ingenious, in the corner of a certain coffeehouse in this town, where you will receive a turn equally right as to wit, religion, and politicks; as likewise to be as frequent at the playhouse as you can afford, without selling your books. For, in our chaste theatre, even Cato himself might sit to the falling of the curtain: besides, you will sometimes meet with tolerable conversation among the players: they are such a kind of men as may pass, upon the same sort of capacities, for wits off the stage, as they do for fine gentlemen upon it. Besides, that I have known a factor deal in as good ware, and sell as cheap, as the merchant himself that employs him.

Add to this the expediency of furnishing out your shelves with a choice collection of modern miscellanies, in the gayest edition; and of reading all sorts of plays, especially the new, and above all, those of our own growth, printed by subscription *; in which article of Irish manufacture, I readily agree to the late proposal, and am altogether for "rejecting and renouncing every thing that comes from "England:" to what purpose should we go thither for coals or poetry, when we have a vein within ourselves, equally good and more convenient? Lastly,

A commonplace book is what a provident poet cannot subsist without, for this proverbial reason, that "great wits have short memories;" and whereas, on the other hand, poets, being liars by profession, ought to have good memories; to reconcile these, a book of this sort, is in the nature of a supple-

* Alluding to the plays of Mr. Shadwell, whose father Thomas was poet laureat from the Revolution till his death.

mental

mental memory, or a record of what occurs remarkable in every day's reading or conversation. There you enter not only your own original thoughts, (which, a hundred to one, are few and insignificant) but such of other men, as you think fit to make your own, by entering them there. For, take this for a rule, when an author is in your books, you have the same demand upon him for his wit, as a merchant has for your money, when you are in his.

By these few and easy prescriptions, (with the help of a good genius) it is possible you may, in a short time, arrive at the accomplishments of a poet, and shine in that character*. As for your manner of composing, and choice of subjects, I cannot take upon me to be your director; but I will venture to give you some short hints, which you may enlarge upon at your leisure. Let me entreat you then, by no means to lay aside that notion peculiar to our modern refiners in poetry, which is, that a poet must never write or discourse as the ordinary part of mankind do, but in number and verse, as an oracle; which I mention the rather, because, upon this principle, I have known heroes brought into the pulpit, and a whole sermon composed and delivered in blank verse, to the vast credit of the preacher, no less than the real entertainment and great edification of the audience; the secret of which I take to be this: when the matter of such

* "*Nullum numen abest si sit prudentia*, is unquestionably true, "with regard to every thing except poetry; and I am very sure "that any man of common understanding may, by proper culture, "care, attention, and labour, make himself whatever he pleases, ex- "cept a good poet." Chesterfield, Letter lxxxi.

discourses

discourses is but mere clay, or as we usually call it, sad stuff, the preacher, who can afford no better, wisely moulds, and polishes, and dries, and washes this piece of earthen ware, and then bakes it with poetick fire; after which it will ring like any pan-crock, and is a good dish to set before common guests, as every congregation is, that comes so often for entertainment to one place.

There was a good old custom in use, which our ancestors had, of invoking the muses at the entrance of their poems; I suppose, by way of craving a blessing: this the graceless moderns have in a great measure laid aside, but are not to be followed in that poetical impiety; for, although to nice ears such invocations may sound harsh and disagreeable (as tuning instruments is before a concert) they are equally necessary. Again, you must not fail to dress your muse in a forehead cloth of Greek or Latin, I mean, you are always to make use of a quaint motto to all your compositions; for, beside that this artifice bespeaks the reader's opinion of the writer's learning, it is otherwise useful and commendable. A bright passage in the front of a poem, is a good mark, like a star in a horse's face; and the piece will certainly go off the better for it. The *os magna sonaturum*, which, if I remember right, Horace makes one qualification of a good poet, may teach you not to gag your muse, or stint yourself in words and epithets which cost you nothing, contrary to the practice of some few out-of-the-way writers, who use a natural and concise expression, and affect a style like unto a Shrewsbury cake, short and sweet upon the palate; they will not afford you a word

a word more than is necessary to make them intelligible, which is as poor and niggardly, as it would be to set down no more meat than your company will be sure to eat up. Words are but lackeys to sense, and will dance attendance without wages or compulsion; *Verba non invita sequentur.*

Farthermore, when you set about composing, it may be necessary, for your ease, and better distillation of wit, to put on your worst clothes, and the worse the better; for an author, like a limbeck, will yield the better for having a rag about him: besides, that I have observed a gardener cut the outward rind of a tree, (which is the surtout of it) to make it bear well: and this is a natural account of the usual poverty of poets, and is an argument why wits, of all men living, ought to be ill clad. I have always a sacred veneration for any one I observe to be a little out of repair in his person, as supposing him either a poet, or a philosopher; because the richest minerals are ever found under the most ragged and withered surface of the earth.

As for your choice of subjects, I have only to give you this caution: that as a handsome way of praising, is certainly the most difficult point in writing or speaking, I would by no means advise any young man to make his first essay in panegyrick, beside the danger of it: for a particular encomium, is ever attended with more illwill, than any general invective, for which I need give no reasons; wherefore, my counsel is, that you use the point of your pen, not the feather: let your first attempt be a *coup d'éclat* in the way of libel, lampoon, or satire. Knock down half a score reputations, and you will

will infallibly raise your own; and so it be with wit, no matter with how little justice; for fiction is your trade.

Every great genius seems to ride upon mankind, like Pyrrhus on his elephant; and the way to have the absolute ascendant of your resty nag, and to keep your seat, is, at your first mounting, to afford him the whip and spurs plentifully; after which, you may travel the rest of the day with great alacrity. Once kick the world, and the world and you will live together at a reasonable good understanding. You cannot but know that those of your profession have been called *genus irritabile vatum*; and you will find it necessary to qualify yourself for that waspish society, by exerting your talent of satire upon the first occasion, and to abandon good nature, only to prove yourself a true poet, which you will allow to be a valuable consideration: in a word, a young robber is usually entered by a murder: a young hound is blooded when he comes first into the field: a young bully begins with killing his man: and a young poet must show his wit, as the other his courage, by cutting, and slashing, and laying about him, and banging mankind.

Lastly, It will be your wisdom to look out betimes for a good service for your muse, according to her skill and qualifications, whether in the nature of a dairymaid, a cook, or chairwoman: I mean to hire out your pen to a party, which will afford you both pay and protection; and when you have to do with the press, (as you will long to be there) take care to bespeak an importunate friend, to extort your productions with an agreeable violence; and which, according to the cue between you, you must surrender *digito male pertinaci:* there is a decency in

this; for it no more becomes an author, in modesty, to have a hand in publishing his own works, than a woman in labour, to lay herself.

I would be very loth to give the least umbrage of offence by what I have here said, as I may do, if I should be thought to insinuate that these circumstances of good writing have been unknown to, or not observed by, the poets of this kingdom: I will do my countrymen the justice to say, they have written by the foregoing rules with great exactness, and so far as hardly to come behind those of their profession in England, in perfection of low writing. The sublime indeed is not so common with us; but ample amends is made for that want, in great abundance of the admirable and amazing, which appears in all our compositions. Our very good friend (the knight aforesaid) speaking of the force of poetry, mentions "rhyming to death, which (adds he) is "said to be done in Ireland;" and truly, to our honour be it spoken, that power, in a great measure, continues with us to this day.

I would now offer some poor thoughts of mine for the encouragement of poetry in this kingdom, if I could hope they would be agreeable. I have had many an aking heart for the ill plight of that noble profession here; and it has been my late and early study, how to bring it into better circumstances. And surely, considering what monstrous wits, in the poetick way, do almost daily start up and surprise us in this town; what prodigious geniuses we have here, (of which I could give instances without number) and withal of what great benefit it may be to our trade to encourage that science here, for it is plain our linen manufacture is

advanced

advanced by the great waste of paper made by our present set of poets ; not to mention other necessary uses of the same to shopkeepers, especially grocers, apothecaries, and pastry cooks, and I might add, but for our writers, the nation would in a little time be utterly destitute of bumfodder, and must of necessity import the same from England and Holland, where they have it in great abundance, by the indefatigable labour of their own wits : I say, these things considered, I am humbly of opinion, it would be worth the care of our governors to cherish gentlemen of the quill, and give them all proper encouragements here. And, since I am upon the subject, I shall speak my mind very freely, and if I add saucily, it is no more than my birthright as a Briton.

Seriously then, I have many years lamented the want of a Grub street in this our large and polite city, unless the whole may be called one. And this I have accounted an unpardonable defect in our constitution, ever since I had any opinions I could call my own. Every one knows Grub street is a market for small ware in wit, and as necessary, considering the usual purgings of the human brain, as the nose is upon a man's face : and for the same reason we have here a court, a college, a playhouse, and beautiful ladies, and fine gentlemen, and good claret, and abundance of pens, ink, and paper, clear of taxes, and every other circumstance to provoke wit ; and yet those, whose province it is, have not thought fit to appoint a place for evacuations of it, which is a very hard case, as may be judged by comparisons.

And truly this defect has been attended with unspeakable inconveniencies ; for, not to mention the prejudice done to the commonwealth of letters, I

am of opinion we suffer in our health by it: I believe our corrupted air, and frequent thick fogs, are in a great measure owing to the common exposal of our wit; and that with good management, our poetical vapours might be carried off in a common drain, and fall into one quarter of the town, without infecting the whole, as the case is at present, to the great offence of our nobility and gentry, and others of nice noses. When writers of all sizes, like freemen of the city, are at liberty to throw out their filth and excrementitious productions, in every street as they please, what can the consequence be, but that the town must be poisoned, and become such another jakes, as, by report of great travellers, Edinburgh is at night, a thing well to be considered in these pestilential times.

I am not of the society for reformation of manners, but, without that pragmatical title, I should be glad to see some amendment in the matter before us: wherefore I humbly bespeak the favour of the lord mayor, the court of aldermen, and common council, together with the whole circle of arts in this town, and do recommend this affair to their most political consideration; and I persuade myself they will not be wanting in their best endeavours, when they can serve two such good ends at once, as both to keep the town sweet, and encourage poetry in it. Neither do I make any exceptions as to satirical poets and lampoon writers, in consideration of their office; for though, indeed, their business is to rake into kennels, and gather up the filth of streets and families, (in which respect they may be, for aught I know, as necessary to the town as scavengers, or chimneysweeps) yet I have observed

observed they too, have themselves, at the same time, very foul clothes, and, like dirty persons, leave more filth and nastiness, than they sweep away.

In a word, what I would be at (for I love to be plain in matters of importance to my country) is, that some private street, or blind alley of this town, may be fitted up, at the charge of the publick, as an apartment for the muses (like those at Rome and Amsterdam, for their female relations) and be wholly consigned to the uses of our wits, furnished completely with all appurtenances, such as authors, supervisors, presses, printers, hawkers, shops, and warehouses, abundance of garrets, and every other implement and circumstance of wit; the benefit of which would obviously be this, *viz.* that we should then have a safe repository for our best productions, which at present are handed about in single sheets or manuscripts, and may be altogether lost (which were a pity) or at the best, are subject, in that loose dress, like handsome women, to great abuse.

Another point, that has cost me some melancholy reflections, is the present state of the playhouse; the encouragement of which has an immediate influence upon the poetry of the kingdom; as a good market improves the tillage of the neighbouring country, and enriches the ploughman; neither do we of this town seem enough to know or consider the vast benefit of a playhouse to our city and nation: that single house is the fountain of all our love, wit, dress, and gallantry. It is the school of wisdom; for there we learn to know what's what; which, however, I cannot say is always in that place sound knowledge. There our young folks drop their childish mistakes, and come first to

perceive their mothers cheat of the parsleybed ; there too they get rid of natural prejudices, especially those of religion and modesty, which are great restraints to a free people. The same is a remedy for the spleen, and blushing, and several distempers occasioned by the stagnation of the blood. It is likewise a school of common swearing; my young master, who at first but minced an oath, is taught there to mouth it gracefully, and to swear, as he reads French, *ore rotundo*. Profaneness was before to him in the nature of his best suit, or holiday-clothes; but, upon frequenting the playhouse, swearing, cursing, and lying, become like his every day coat, waistcoat, and breeches. Now I say common swearing, a produce of this country as plentiful as our corn, thus cultivated by the playhouse, might, with management, be of wonderful advantage to the nation, as a projector of the swearers bank has proved at large. Lastly, the stage in great measure supports the pulpit; for I know not what our divines could have to say there against the corruptions of the age, but for the playhouse, which is the seminary of them. From which it is plain, the publick is a gainer by the playhouse, and consequently ought to countenance it; and, were I worthy to put in my word, or prescribe to my betters, I could say in what manner.

I have heard that a certain gentleman has great design to serve the publick, in the way of their diversion, with due encouragement ; that is, if he can obtain some concordatum-money, or yearly salary, and handsome contribution: and well he deserves the favours of the nation ; for, to do him justice, he has an uncommon skill in pastimes, having

having altogether applied his studies that way, and travelled full many a league, by sea and land, for this his profound knowledge. With that view alone he has visited all the courts and cities in Europe, and has been at more pains than I shall speak of, to take an exact draught of the playhouse at the Hague, as a model for a new one here. But what can a private man do by himself in so publick an undertaking? It is not to be doubted but, by his care and industry, vast improvements may be made, not only in our playhouse (which is his immediate province), but in our gaming ordinaries, groom-porters, lotteries, bowling-greens, ninepin alleys, bear-gardens, cockpits, prizes, puppets and rareeshows, and whatever else concerns the elegant divertisements of this town. He is truly an original genius; and I felicitate this our capital city on his residence here, where I wish him long to live and flourish, for the good of the commonwealth.

Once more: if any farther applications shall be made on the other side, to obtain a charter for a bank here, I presume to make a request, that poetry may be a sharer in that privilege, being a fund as real, and to the full as well grounded, as our stocks; but I fear our neighbours, who envy our wit as much as they do our wealth or trade, will give no encouragement to either. I believe also, it might be proper to erect a corporation of poets in this city. I have been idle enough in my time, to make a computation of wits here; and do find we have three hundred performing poets and upward, in and about this town, reckoning six score to the hundred, and allowing for demies, like pint bottles; including also the several denominations of imitators, translators, and

familiar letter writers, &c. One of these last has lately entertained the town with an original piece, and such a one as, I dare say, the late British Spectator, in his decline, would have called, " an excel- " lent specimen of the true sublime ;" or " a noble " poem ;" or " a fine copy of verses, on a subject " perfectly new," the author himself; and had given it a place among his latest lucubrations.

But, as I was saying, so many poets, I am confident, are sufficient to furnish out a corporation in point of number. Then, for the several degrees of subordinate members requisite to such a body, there can be no want; for, although we have not one masterly poet, yet we abound with wardens and beadles; having a multitude of poetasters, poetitoes, parcel-poets, poet-apes, and philo-poets, and many of inferiour attainments in wit, but strong inclinations to it, which are by odds more than all the rest. Nor shall I ever be at ease, till this project of mine (for which I am heartily thankful to myself) shall be reduced to practice. I long to see the day, when our poets will be a regular and distinct body, and wait upon the lord mayor on publick days, like other good citizens, in gowns turned up with green instead of laurels; and when I myself, who make this proposal, shall be free of their company.

To conclude, what if our government had a poet laureat here, as in England? what if our university had a professor of poetry here, as in England? what if our lord mayor had a city bard here, as in England? and, to refine upon England, what if every corporation, parish, and ward in this town, had a poet in fee, as they have not in England? Lastly, what if every one, so qualified, were obliged to add

one

one more than usual to the number of his domesticks, and beside a fool and a chaplain (which are often united in one person) would retain a poet in his family; for, perhaps, a rhymer is as necessary among servants of a house as a Dobbin with his bells at the head of a team? But these things I leave to the wisdom of my superiors.

While I have been directing your pen, I should not forget to govern my own, which has already exceeded the bounds of a letter: I must therefore take my leave abruptly, and desire you, without farther ceremony, to believe that

I am, SIR,
your most humble servant,

December 1, 1720.

J. S.

SOME

# ARGUMENTS

AGAINST ENLARGING

# THE POWER OF BISHOPS

IN

# LETTING LEASES.

Mihi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique vestrum in iisdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipsa bona relicta sunt.

CICERO pro A. CÆCINA.

SOME

# ARGUMENTS

AGAINST ENLARGING

# THE POWER OF BISHOPS, ETC.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1723.

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IN handling this subject, I shall proceed wholly upon the supposition, that those of our party, who profess themselves members of the church established, and under the apostolical government of bishops, do desire the continuance and transmission of it to posterity, at least in as good a condition as it is at present: because, as this discourse is not calculated for dissenters of any kind, so neither will it suit the talk or sentiments of those persons, who, with the denomination of churchmen, are oppressors of the inferiour clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the bishops; which is a traditional cant delivered down from former times, and continued with great reason, although it be near 200 years since almost three parts in four of the church revenues have been taken from the clergy, beside the spoils that have been gradually made ever since of glebes and other land, by the confusion of times, the

the fraud of encroaching neighbours, or the power of oppressors too great to be encountered.

About the time of the reformation, many popish bishops of this kingdom, knowing they must have been soon ejected if they would not change their religion, made long leases and feefarms of great part of their lands, reserving very inconsiderable rents, sometimes only a chiefry, by a power they assumed directly contrary to many ancient canons, yet consistent enough with the common law. This trade held on for many years after the bishops became protestants; and some of their names are still remembered with infamy, on account of enriching their families by such sacrilegious alienations. By these means episcopal revenues were so low reduced, that three or four sees were often united to make a tolerable competency. For some remedy to this evil, king James the First, by a bounty that became a good Christian prince, bestowed several forfeited lands on the northern bishopricks: but in all other parts of the kingdom, the church continued still in the same distress and poverty; some of the sees hardly possessing enough to maintain a country vicar. About the middle of king Charles the First's reign, the legislature here thought fit to put a stop at least to any farther alienations; and so a law was enacted, prohibiting all bishops and other ecclesiastical corporations, from setting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reserved to be one half of the real value of such lands at the time they were set, without which condition the lease to be void.

Soon after the restoration of king Charles the Second, the parliament taking into consideration the miserable

miserable estate of the church, certain lands, by way of augmentation, were granted to eight bishops in the act of settlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three sees were in a great measure defeated; but by what accidents it is not here of any importance to relate.

This at present is the condition of the church in Ireland, with regard to episcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced for some information to those, whose thoughts do not lead them to such considerations.

By virtue of the statute already mentioned, under king Charles the first, limiting ecclesiastical bodies to the term of twenty-one years under the reserved rent of half real value, the bishops have had some share in the gradual rise of lands, without which they could not have been supported with any common decency that might become their station. It is above eighty years since the passing of that act: the see of Meath, one of the best in the kingdom, was then worth about 400*l. per annum;* the poorer ones in the same proportion. If this were their present condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their successors, if such a bill should pass, as they say is now intended, which I will suppose; and of which I believe many persons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at least eluded; some are for giving bishops leave to let feefarms, others would allow them to let leases for lives; and the most moderate would repeal that clause, by which the bishops

bishops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reasons for the rise of value in lands are of two kinds. Of the first kind, are long peace and settlement after the devastations of war; plantations, improvements of bad soil, recovery of bogs and marshes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increase of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reason for the rise of land, more gradual, constant and certain; which will have its effects in countries that are very far from flourishing in any of the advantages I have just mentioned: I mean the perpetual decrease in the value of gold and silver. I shall discourse upon these two different kinds, with a view toward the bill now attempted.

As to the first: I cannot see how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts in five of the plantations for thirty years past have been real disimprovements; nine in ten of the quick-set hedges being ruined for want of care or skill. And as to forest trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in single rows on the tops of ditches, it is impossible they should grow to be of use, beauty, or shelter. Neither can it be said, that the soil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while so much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almost desperate by the ill cutting of the turf. There has indeed been some little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very short of perfection; but our trade was never in so low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wise nations have been so tender, the desolation

desolation made in the country by engrossing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable instances under what discouragement it lies.

But, notwithstanding all these mortifications, I suppose there is no well-wisher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in some of the articles abovementioned. But it would be hard, if ecclesiastical bodies should be the only persons excluded from any share in publick advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater share of profit to their tenants: if God sends rain equally upon the just and the unjust, why should those who wait at his altars, and are instructers of the people, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reasoning may seem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will suit with the present disposition or fashion of the age; I shall therefore dwell more largely upon the second reason for the rise of land, which is the perpetual decrease of the value of gold and silver.

This may be observed from the course of the Roman history above two thousand years before those inexhaustible silver mines of Potosi were known. The value of an obolus, and of every other coin between the time of Romulus and that of Augustus, gradually sunk above five parts in six, as appears by several passages out of the best authors. And yet the prodigious wealth of that state did not arise from the increase of bullion in the world by the discovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cause, which was the spreading of their con-

quests, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy, the riches of the East and West.

When the seat of empire was removed to Constantinople, the tide of money flowed that way without ever returning; and was scattered in Asia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the northern people, such a stop was put to all trade and commerce, that vast sums of money were buried, to escape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained was carried off by those ravagers.

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the monkish and other writers since the conquest, have put the matter in a clearer light, by the several accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle, in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that king John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thousand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewise seen the steward's account of an ancient noble family in England, written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the several prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my observations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years past. Henry duke of Lancaster, who lived about that period, founded an hospital at Leicester for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In those times, a penny was equal to ten pence halfpenny and somewhat more than half

a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain also from the old custom upon many estates in England to let for leases of lives (renewable at pleasure) where the reserved rent is usually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three shillings in the pound of the worth of his land: and the tenants are so wedded to this custom, that if the owner suffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a lease on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reasonable rent, the other tenants, by all manner of injuries, will make that foreigner so uneasy, that he must be forced to quit the farm; as the late earl of Bath felt by the experience of above ten thousand pounds loss.

The gradual decrease for about two hundred years after, was not considerable, and therefore I do not rely on the account given by some historians, that Harry the seventh left behind him eighteen hundred thousand pounds; for although the West Indies were discovered before his death, and although he had the best talents and instruments for exacting money, ever possessed by any prince since the time of Vespasian (whom he resembled in many particulars) yet I conceive, that in his days the whole coin of England could hardly amount to such a sum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, sir Thomas Cokaine*,

* Sir Thomas Cokaine of Ashbourne, in the county of Derby, was several times high sheriff of that county, and also of Nottinghamshire. He died at an advanced age, Nov. 15, 1592, and was buried at Ashbourne.

of Derbyshire, the best housekeeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each servant, and two pounds to the steward; as I was told by a person of quality, who had seen the original account of his economy. Now this sum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at present, or somewhat more than four fifths.

The great plenty of silver in England began in queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vast quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards, either upon their own American coasts, or in their return to Spain. However, so much has been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and most parts of Europe, is sunk above one half within the space of a hundred years, notwithstanding the great export of silver for about eighty years past to the East Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the same accident, and by new discoveries growing every day more plentiful, seems in danger of becoming a drug.

This has been the progress of the value of money in former ages, and must of necessity continue so for the future, without some new invasion of Goths and Vandals, to destroy law, property, and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upside down.

I must repeat, that what I am to say upon the subject is intended only for the conviction of those among our own party, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it should continue, in a tolerable

a tolerable degree of prosperity, to the end of the world.

The church is supposed to last for ever, both in its discipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who must likewise observe the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's estate, which now yields him a thousand pounds a year, had been set for ever at the highest value, even in the flourishing days of king Charles the Second, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at most? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reserved rent at this day be any more than a small chiefry? Suppose the revenues of a bishop to have been under the same circumstances; could he now be able to perform works of hospitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a bishop be limited to a thousand pounds a year; how will his successor be in a condition to support his station with decency, when the same denomination of money shall not answer a half, a quarter, or an eighth part of the sum? which must unavoidably be the consequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preserved from utter ruin.

The same reason holds good in all corporations whatsoever; who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them smart to this day; although the leaders among them are often so stupid as not to perceive it, or sometimes so knavish as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about a hundred years ago; and instead of limiting their rents to a certain sum of mo-

ney, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of so many barrels of corn, to be valued as the market went at two seasons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinsick value, which gold and silver are not: and by this invention, these colleges have preserved a tolerable subsistence for their fellows and students to this day.

The present bishops will indeed be no sufferers by such a bill; because, their ages considered, they cannot expect to see any great decrease in the value of money; or at worst they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than usual upon the change of leases into feefarms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking such advantages (considering the nature of humankind) when the question is only, whether the money shall be put into their own or another man's pocket; so they will never be excusable before God or man, if they do not to their death oppose, declare, and protest against any such bill, as must in its consequences complete the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private person be diminished by the weakness, or inadvertency of his ancestors, in letting leases for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his industry for purchasing more: but the church is barred by a dead hand; or, if it were otherwise, yet the custom of making bequests to it has been out of practice for almost two hundred years, and a great deal directly contrary has been its fortune.

I have been assured by a person of some consequence, to whom I am likewise obliged for the account

count of some other facts already related, that the late bishop of Salisbury * (the greatest whig of that bench in his days) confessed to him, that the liberty which bishops in England have of letting leases for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of episcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? have not two English prelates quitted their peerage and seats in parliament, in a nation of freedom, for the sake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which however they cannot be justly censured. I know indeed some persons, who offer as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with bishops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they allege, that as things have gone for some years past, gentlemen will grow discouraged from sending their sons to the university, and from suffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languish under a curacy or small vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decrease in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and besides, when bishopricks here grow too small to invite over men of credit and consequence, they will be left more fully to the disposal of a chief governor, who can never fail of some worthless illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench,

* Dr. Burnet.

in an age or two, be composed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble suppliants and dependants upon the court for a morsel of bread, and ready to serve every turn that shall be demanded from them, in hopes of getting some *commendam* tacked to their sees; which must then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great discouragement of the inferiour clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years since the passing of that limiting act, and there is but one instance in the memory of man, of a bishop's lease broken upon the plea of not being statutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been lost by no other person than he * who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the present bishop of Meath's † case, that plea did not avail, although the lease were ‡ notoriously unstatutable; the rent reserved being, as I have been told, not a seventh part of the real value; yet the jury, upon their oaths, very gravely found it to be according to the statute; and one of them was heard to say, that he would eat his shoes before he would give a verdict for the bishop. A very few more have made the same attempt with as little success. Every bishop, and other ecclesiastical body, reckon forty pounds in a hundred to be a reasonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it seldom or never breeds any dif-

* This should be, *him*, not *he*; which will be immediately manifest by restoring the preposition here omitted; as thus—'could have been lost by no other person than by *him* who was,' &c.

† Dr. John Evans, bishop of Meath 1715—1724.

‡ This should be—'although the lease *was*'—not *were*.

ference

ference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts less than the worth, the bishop, if he consults the good of his see, will be apt to expostulate; and the tenant, if he be an honest man, will have some regard to the reasonableness and justice of the demand, so as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a suit, where law and equity are directly against him. By these means the bishops have been so true to their trusts, as to procure some small share in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the publick, by one or two thousand pounds a year in the hands of a protestant bishop, any more than of a lay person *. The former, generally speaking, lives as piously and hospitably as the other; pays his debts as honestly, and spends as much of his revenue among his tenants: besides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may distinguish them at first sight by their habits and horses; or, if you go to their houses, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that such immediate tenants, generally speaking, have others under them, and so a third and fourth in subordination, till it comes to the welder (as they call him) who sits at a rackrent, and lives as miserably as an Irish farmer upon a new lease from a lay landlord. But, suppose a bishop happens to be avaricious (as being composed

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when several of queen Anne's bishops were living.

of

of the same stuff with other men) the consequence to the publick is no worse than if he were a squire; for he leaves his fortune to his son, or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no disadvantage to the publick in a protestant country, that a man should hold lands as a bishop, any more than if he were a temporal person; so it is of great advantage to the community, where a bishop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conscience to reside in his diocese, and by a solemn promise to keep hospitality; his estate is spent in the kingdom, not remitted to England; he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppose him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it must be allowed, that some bishops of this kingdom, within twenty years past, have done very signal and lasting acts of publick charity; great instances whereof are the late* and present† primate, and the lord archbishop of Dublin‡ that now is, who has left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the bishop of Raphoe§, and several others: not forgetting the late dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who bestowed one thousand pounds upon the university; which foundation, (that I may observe by the way) if the bill proposed should pass, would be in the same circumstances with the bishops, nor ever able again to advance the stipends of the fellows and students, as lately they found it necessary to do; the determinate sum ap-

* Dr. Marsh. † Dr. Lindsay. ‡ Dr. King. § Dr. Foster.

pointed

pointed by the statutes for commons, being not half sufficient, by the fall of money, to afford necessary sustenance. But the passing of such a bill must put an end to all ecclesiastical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be supplied by those who are to reap the benefit, better than it has been done by grantees of impropriate tithes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hospitality, it will be easy to conjecture.

To allege, that passing such a bill would be a good encouragement to improve bishops lands, is a great errour. Is it not the general method of landlords to wait the expiration of a lease, and then cant their lands to the highest bidder? and what should hinder the same course to be taken in church leases, when the limitation is removed of paying half the real value to the bishop? In riding through the country, how few improvements do we see upon the estates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To say the truth, it is a great misfortune, as well to the publick, as to the bishops themselves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great squires, who, in reason, were never designed to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a subserviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honest farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with cheerfulness, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thousand pound a year talk with great contempt of bishops leases, as being on a worse foot than the rest of his estate; and he had certainly reason: my answer was, that such leases were

were originally intended only for the benefit of industrious husbandmen, who would think it a great blessing to be provided for, instead of having their farms screwed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find shoes for their children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by such a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and false dealings in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to a highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and so I shall be sure to prevent the sin of robbery.

I had wrote* thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookseller sent me a small pamphlet, entitled, *The Case of the Laity, with some Queries;* full of the strongest malice against the clergy, that I have any where met with since the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. These kinds of advocates do infinite mischief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving grounds to the unjust reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear a hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majesty king George, and the house of Hanover, not shaken in the least by the hardships we lie under, which never can be imputable to so gracious a prince; if I sincerely abjure the pretender, and all popish successors; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king William, who preserved these kingdoms from popery and slavery, with the expense of his blood, and hazard of his life; and lastly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all dissenters, I

* This should be, *written*, the partic., not the pret. *wrote*.

think

think nothing more can be reasonably demanded of me as a WHIG, and that my political catechism is full and complete. But whoever, under the shelter of that party denomination, and of many great professions of loyalty, would destroy, or undermine, or injure the church established; I utterly disown him, and think he ought to choose another name of distinction for himself and his adherents. I came into the cause upon other principles, which by the grace of God I mean to preserve as long as I live. Shall we justify the accusations of our adversaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.*——The tories and jacobites will behold us, with a malicious pleasure, determined upon the ruin of our friends. For is not the present set of bishops almost entirely of that number, as well as a great majority of the principal clergy? And a short time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleases to examine what I have already said, will easily answer the bold queries in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that the reason still strongly exists, for which that limiting law was enacted. A reasonable man will wonder, where can be the insufferable grievances, that an ecclesiastical landlord should expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is at least as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but seldom guilty of giving such beneficial bargains. Has the nation been thrown into confusion; and have many poor families been ruined by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does the nation cry out to have a law that must in time send their bishops a begging? But, God be thanked, the clamour

mour of enemies to the church is not yet the cry, and I hope will never prove the voice, of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that the people maintain them, any more than in the sense that all landlords whatsoever are maintained by the people. Such assertions as these, and the insinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by those who are for preserving the happy constitution in church and state. Whoever were the proposers of such queries, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more justice than prudence, by showing at whose door the grievance lies, and that the bishops at least are not to answer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the episcopal rentroll almost one half, let me suppose that all the churchlands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in such a case sit easier in their rents than they do now? or, would the money be equally spent in the kingdom? No; the farmer would be screwed up to the utmost penny by the agents and stewards of absentees, and the revenues employed in making a figure at London; to which city a full third part of the whole income of Ireland is annually returned, to answer that single article of maintenance for Irish landlords.

Another of his quarrels is against pluralities and nonresidence: as to the former, it is a word of ill name, but not well understood. The clergy having been stripped of the greatest part of their revenues, the glebes being generally lost, the tithes in the hands of laymen, the churches demolished, and the country depopulated; in order to preserve a face

face of christianity, it was necessary to unite small vicarages sufficient to make a tolerable maintenance for a minister. The profit of ten or a dozen of these unions seldom amounts to above eighty or a hundred pounds a year. If there be a very few dignitaries, whose preferments are perhaps more liable to this accusation, it is to be supposed, they may be favourites of the time; or persons of superiour merit, for whom there has ever been some indulgence in all governments.

As to nonresidence, I believe there is no christian country upon earth, where the clergy have less to answer for upon that article. I am confident there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom, who, properly speaking, can be termed nonresidents: for surely we are not to reckon in that number, those, who for want of glebes are forced to retire to the nearest neighbouring village for a cabin to put their heads in; the leading man of the parish, when he makes the greatest clamour, being least disposed to accommodate the minister with an acre of ground. And indeed, considering the difficulties the clergy lie under upon this head, it has been frequent matter of wonder to me, how they are able to perform that part of their duty, so well as they do.

There is a noble author*, who has lately addressed to the house of commons an excellent discourse for the encouragement of agriculture; full of most useful hints, which I hope that honourable assembly will consider as they deserve. I am no stranger to his lordship; and, excepting in what

* The late lord Molesworth.

relates

relates to the church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of tithes upon the clergy and their proctors. His lordship is above considering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meanest farmer has all manner of advantages against the most powerful clerygman, by whom it is impossible he can be wronged, although the minister were ever so ill disposed; the whole system of teizing, perplexing, and defrauding the proctor, or his master, being as well known to every ploughman, as the reaping or sowing of his corn, and much more artfully practised. Besides, the leading man in the parish must have his tithes at his own rate, which is hardly ever above one quarter of the value. And I have heard it computed by many skilful observers, whose interest was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive, throughout the kingdom, one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordship's discontent against the bishops court, I shall not interpose farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their just dues, by a more short, decisive, and compulsive method, than such a cramped limited jurisdiction will allow.

His lordship is not the only person, disposed to give the clergy the honour of being the sole encouragers of all new improvements. If hops, hemp, flax, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy alone must reward the industrious farmer by abatement of the tithe. What if the owner of nine parts in ten, would please to abate proportionably in his

rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man just dropped from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at least as reasonable?

I believe no man will dispute his lordship's title to his estate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of tithes, which he mentions with some emotion. I suppose the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the same reason, that a maxim in law has more weight in the world than an article of faith. And yet I think there may be such a thing as sacrilege: because it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman authors, as well as described in Holy Writ. This I am sure of; that his lordship would at any time excuse a parliament, for not concerning itself in his properties, without his own consent.

The observations I have made upon his lordship's discourse, have not, I confess, been altogether proper to my subject: however, since he has been pleased therein to offer some proposals to the house of commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuse me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the desire of defending liberty and property, that he has so strenuously and constantly maintained.

But the other writer, openly declares for a law empowering the bishops to set feefarms; and says, "Whoever, intimates, that they will deny their "consent to such a reasonable law, which the whole "nation cries for, are enemies to them and the "church." Whether this be his real opinion, or only a strain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my sentiments are so directly contrary to his, that I think, whoever impartially reads and considers what I have written upon this argument,

ment, has either no regard for the church established under the hierarchy of bishops, or will never consent to any law, that shall repeal or elude the limiting clause relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli*, for the preservation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church and persons ecclesiastical; which was grounded upon reasons, that do still, and must for ever subsist.

October 21.
1723.

THE

THE

# PRESBYTERIANS PLEA OF MERIT

IN ORDER TO TAKE OFF

# THE TEST IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED*.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1731.

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WE have been told, in the common newspapers, that all attempts are to be made this session by the presbyterians, and their abettors, for taking off the test; as a kind of preparatory step to make it go down smoother in England. For, if once their light would so shine, the papists, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a dis-

* The "Presbyterians Plea of Merit," the "Plea for repealing "the Test in Favour of the Roman Catholicks," and the "Queries "relating to the Sacramental Test," are looked upon to be the best tracts, that were published upon the Test. If the poisonous bait for the Church (The Proposal to take off the Test) was first offered in Ireland, it ought to be remembered, that the antidote came thence likewise.

creet physician, who first gives a new medicine to a dog, before he prescribes it to a human creature.

The presbyterians have, ever since the Revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject, by showing their merits and pretensions, upon which they claim this justice, as founded upon the services they did toward the restoration of king Charles the second, and at the Revolution under the prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the sun, against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of publick facts, known to all Europe, for twenty years together. I shall therefore impartially examine the merits and conduct of the presbyterians, upon those two great events; and the pretensions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England, under Edward the sixth, upon queen Mary's succeeding to the crown (who restored popery) many protestants fled out of England, to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added farther improvements of their own, upon queen Mary's death returned to England; where they preached up their own opinions, inveighing bitterly against episcopacy, and all rites and ceremonies, however innocent and ancient in the church: building upon this foundation, to run as far as possible from

from popery, even in the most minute and indifferent circumstances. This faction, under the name of puritan, became very turbulent during the whole reign of queen Elizabeth, and were always discouraged by that wise queen, as well as by her two successors. However, their numbers, as well as their insolence and perverseness, so far increased, that soon after the death of king James the first, many instances of their petulancy and scurrility are to be seen in their pamphlets, written for some years after (which was a trade they began in the days of queen Elizabeth) particularly with great rancour against the bishops, the habits, and the ceremonies: such were those scurrilous libels under the title of Martin Mar-prelate, and several others. And although the earl of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640 (as I remember) the kingdom was in a state of perfect peace and happiness, without the least appearance of thought or design toward making any alterations in religion or government; yet I have found, by often rummaging for old books in Little Britain and Duck lane, a great number of pamphlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640, full of as bold and impious railing expressions against the lawful power of the crown, and the order of bishops, as ever were uttered during the rebellion, or the whole subsequent tyranny of that fanatick anarchy. However, I find it manifest that puritanism did not erect itself into a new separate species of religion, till some time after the rebellion began. For, in the latter times of king James the first, and the former part of his son, there were several puritan bishops, and many puritan private clergymen; while people went, as their inclinations led them, to hear preachers of each party in

the parish churches; for the puritan clergy had received episcopal orders, as well as the rest. But soon after the rebellion broke out, the term puritan gradually dropped, and that of presbyterian succeeded; which sect was in two or three years established in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without consulting the king, who was then at war against his rebels. And from this period, the church continued under persecution, until monarchy was restored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after we began to hear of a new party risen, and growing in the parliament as well as the army, under the name of independent: it spread indeed somewhat more in the latter, but not equal with the presbyterians, either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a prisoner in the isle of Wight, had made his last concessions for a peace to the commissioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London they reported his majesty's answer in the house. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow says, had secured their own terms with that prince, managed with so much art, as to obtain a majority in a thin house for passing a vote, that the king's concessions were a ground for a future settlement. But the great officers of the army, joining with the discontented members, came to a resolution of excluding all those who had consented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid presbyterian, of this resolution; who thereupon issued his

his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Westminster hall, the court of requests, and the lobby; who, in obedience to the general, in conjunction with those members who had opposed the vote, would let no member enter the house, except those of their own party. Upon which, the question for bringing the king to justice was immediately put, and carried without opposition that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himself was one; although, by the advice or threats of his wife, he declined sitting among them. However, by fresh orders under his own hand, which I have seen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewise to prevent any opposition from the people, upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced, it appears manifest, that the differences between these two sects, presbyterian and independent, did not then amount to half so much, as what there is between a whig and tory at present among us. The design of utterly extirpating monarchy and episcopacy, was equally the same in both; evidently the consequence of the very same principles, upon which the presbyterians alone began, continued, and would have ended in the same events; if, toward the conclusion, they had not been bearded by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the spoil. However, they held a good share of civil and military employments during the whole time of the usurpation; and their names, actions, and preferments, are frequent in the accounts of those times. For I

make no doubt, that all the prudent presbyterians complied in proper seasons, falling in with the stream; and thereby got that share in employments, which many of them held to the restoration; and perhaps too many of them after. In the same manner, we find our wisest tories in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and measures at the queen's death, have endeavoured for several years, by due compliances, to recover the time they had lost by a temporary obstinacy; wherein they have well succeeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whose names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modesty. As to what is alleged, that some of the presbyterians declared openly against the king's murder, I allow it to be true. But from what motives? No other can possibly be assigned than perfect spite, rage, and envy, to find themselves wormed out of all power, by a new infant spawn of independents, sprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them, are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national assemblies. But wherever interest or power thinks fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the opposite parties think fit to charge upon each other: for we see at this day, that the tories are more hated by the whole set of zealous whigs, than the very papists themselves; and in effect as much unqualified for the smallest office: although both these parties assert themselves to be of the same religion, in all its branches of doctrine and discipline; and profess the same loyalty, to the same protestant king, and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this independent

dependent party, upon whom all the mischief is charged by their presbyterian brethren, he may please to observe, that during the whole usurpation, they contended by degrees with their parent sect, and as I have already said, shared in employments, and gradually, after the restoration, mingled with the mass of presbyterians; lying ever since undistinguished in the herd of dissenters.

The presbyterian merit is of as little weight, when they allege themselves instrumental toward the king's restoration. The kingdom grew tired with those ridiculous models of government: first, by a house of lords and commons without a king; then, without bishops; afterward, by a rump* and lords temporal; then, by a rump alone; next, by a single person for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of representatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of England; with other schemes that have slipped out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his son Richard, a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy much in the same manner with the two usurping kings of Brentford†; the people harassed with taxes, and other oppressions. The king's party, then called the cavaliers, began to recover their spirits. The few nobility scattered through the kingdom, who lived in a most retired manner, observing the confusion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the like, at the head

* This name was given to that part of the house of commons, which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force.

† In the Rehearsal.

of

of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The rump assembly grew despicable to those who had raised them: the city of London, exhausted by almost twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared against them. The rump, after many deaths and resurrections, was, in the most contemptuous manner, kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded members were let in; a free parliament called, in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the king restored.

The second claim of presbyterian merit, is founded upon their services against the dangerous designs of king James the second, while that prince was using all his endeavours to introduce popery, which he openly professed upon his coming to the crown: to this, they add their eminent services at the revolution, under the prince of Orange.

Now the quantum of presbyterian merit during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill-advised prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will easily be computed, by a recourse to a great number of histories, pamphlets, and publick papers, printed in those times, and some afterward; beside the verbal testimonies of many persons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and observed the dissenters conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon king Charles the second's death, soon after his successor had publickly owned himself a Roman catholick, he began with his first caresses to the church party; from whom having received very cold discouraging answers, he applied to the presbyterian leaders and teachers; being advised by his priests and popish courtiers, that the safest method

method toward introducing his own religion, would be, by taking off the sacramental test, and giving a full liberty of conscience to all religions, I suppose that professed christianity. It seems that the presbyterians in the latter years of king Charles the second, upon account of certain plots (allowed by bishop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a short time forbidden to hold their conventicles. Whereupon these charitable christians, out of perfect resentment against the church, received the gracious offers of king James with the strongest professions of loyalty, and highest acknowledgments for his favour. I have seen several of their addresses, full of thanks and praises, with bitter insinuations of what they had suffered; putting themselves and the papists upon the same foot, as fellow-sufferers for conscience; and with the style of our brethren the Roman catholicks. About this time began the project of closetting, which has since been practised many times with more art and success, where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechised by his majesty, to know, whether if a new parliament were called, they would agree to pass an act for repealing the sacramental test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience. But he received so little encouragement, that despairing of success, he had recourse to his dispensing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination, he preferred several presbyterians, and many papists, to civil and military employments. While the king was thus busied, it is well known that monsieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the prince and princess of Orange concerning the repeal of the test; whereof

the

the king had sent an account to their highnesses, to know how far they approved of it. The substance of their answer, as reported by Fagel, was this, "That their highnesses thought very well of a "liberty of conscience; but by no means of giving "employments to any other persons, than those "who were of the national church." This opinion was confirmed by several reasons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it has been printed in many accounts of those times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps submit to: but to trust any part of the civil power in the hands of those, whose interest, inclination, conscience, and former practices, have been wholly turned to introduce a different system of religion and government, has very few examples in any christian state; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroness of universal toleration.

Upon the first intelligence king James received of an intended invasion by the prince of Orange, among great numbers of papists, to increase his troops, he gave commissions to several presbyterians; some of whom had been officers under the rump; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted presbyterian, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs. This regiment was raised in England against the prince of Orange: the colonel made his son a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a presbyterian as his father. However, at the time of the prince's landing, the father easily foreseeing how things would go, went over, like many others, to the prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a

year

year or two after to assist in raising the siege of Derry, he behaved himself so like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now consider the conduct of the church party, during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were so unanimous against promising to pass an act for repealing the test, and establishing a general liberty of conscience, that the king durst not trust a parliament; but, encouraged by the professions of loyalty given him by his presbyterian friends, went on with his dispensing power.

The church clergy, at that time, are allowed to have written the best collection of tracts against popery, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the highest esteem. But, upon the strictest inquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers published by the presbyterians at that time upon the same subject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the rest) were sent to the Tower for presenting a petition, wherein they desired to be excused in not obeying an illegal command from the king. The bishop of London, Dr. Compton, was summoned to answer before the commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs; for not suspending Dr. Sharp (afterward archbishop of York) by the king's command. If the presbyterians expressed the same zeal upon any occasion, the instances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or transmitted by tradition. The proceedings against Magdalen college in Oxford, for refusing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a professed papist upon their foundation, are a standing proof of the courage and firmness in religion shown by that learned society, to the ruin of their fortunes. The presbyterians know very

very well, that I could produce many more instances of the same kind. But these are enough in so short a paper as I intend at present.

It is indeed very true, that after king William was settled on the English throne, the presbyterians began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new king, having been originally bred a calvinist, was desirous enough to make them easy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that sect; nor designed to favour them farther than as it stood with the present scheme of politicks; as I have long since been assured by the greatest men of whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewise true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was possessed of the English crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the presbyterians wisely chose to join with the protestant army, rather than with that of king James their old friend, whose affairs were then in a manner desperate. They were wise enough to know, that this kingdom divided against itself, could never prevail against the united power of England. They fought *pro aris & focis*; for their estates and religion; which latter will never suffer so much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted hereticks as well as we: and consequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a protestant army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties against a popish enemy, under an abdicated king, is, I confess, to me absolutely inconceivable; and

and I believe will equally be so for ever to any reasonable man.

When these sectaries were several years ago making the same attempt for abolishing the test, many groundless reports were industriously and seasonably spread, of an invasion threatened by the pretender on the north of Ireland. At which time, the presbyterians, in their pamphlets, argued in a menacing manner, that if the pretender should invade those parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and estates of dissenters chiefly lay, they would sit still, and let us fight our own battles; since they were to reap no advantage, whichever side should be victors. If this were the course they intended to take in such a case, I desire to know, how they could contrive safely to stand neuters, otherwise than by a compact with the pretender and his army, to support their neutrality, and protect them against the forces of the crown? This is a necessary supposition; because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration, they sufficiently showed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door; that a Scottish or northern presbyterian, hates our episcopal established church, more than popery itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough; because it is the church alone that stands in the way between them and power, which popery does not.

Upon this occasion, I am in some doubt whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions, made a judicious choice, in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantick enterprise. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the

the presbyterians, in countenancing and confirming those reports; because it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body: for, if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the pretender counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the presbyterians, by choosing to land in those very parts where their number, wealth, and power most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore, in charity to this sect, I rather incline to believe, that those reports of an invasion were formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable job.

As to popery in general, which for a thousand years past has been introducing and multiplying corruptions both in doctrine and discipline; I look upon it to be the most absurd system of christianity, professed by any nation. But I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The estates of papists are very few; crumbling into small parcels and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice; and of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one half ruined, banished or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war: some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still posssess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again, for the sake of establishing their superstition. If it has been thought

thought fit, as some observe, to abate of the law's rigour against popery in this kingdom, I am confident it was done for very wise reasons, considering the situation of affairs abroad at different times, and the interest of the protestant religion in general. And as I do not find the least fault in this proceeding, so I do not conceive, why a sunk discarded party, who neither expect nor desire any thing more than a quiet life, should, under the names of highflyers, jacobites, and many other vile appellations, be charged so often in print, and at common tables, with endeavouring to introduce popery and the pretender; while the papists abhor them above all other men, on account of severities against their priests in her late majesty's reign, when the now disbanded reprobate party was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago by a long journey into the southern parts; where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through, and to my great satisfaction found them every where abounding in professions of loyalty to the late king George; for which they gave me the reasons abovementioned; at the same time complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the queen's last ministry.

I return from this digression to the modest demands of the presbyterians for a repeal of the sacramental test, as a reward for their merits at the restoration and the revolution; which merits I have fairly represented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any mistakes, they must be of little moment. The facts and principal circumstances are what I have obtained and digested from reading the histories of

those times written by each party; and many thousands have done the same as well as I, who I am sure have in their minds drawn the same conclusions.

This is the faction, and these the men, who are now resuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms, upon two points, which, of all others, they have the least pretensions to offer. I have collected the facts, with all possible impartiality, from the current histories of those times; and have shown, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of those sectaries, under the denominations of puritans, presbyterians and independents, for about the space of a hundred and eighty years, from the beginning of queen Elizabeth to this present time. But, notwithstanding all that can be said, these very schismaticks (for such they are in temporals as well as spirituals) are now again expecting, soliciting and demanding (not without insinuated threats, according to their custom) that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the church established. I would fain know to what branch of the legislature they can have the forehead to apply. Not to my lords the bishops; who must have often read how the predecessors of this very faction, acting upon the same principles, drove the whole bench out of the house, who were then, and hitherto continue, one of the three estates: not to the temporal peers, the second of the three estates, who must have heard, that immediately after those rebellious fanaticks had murdered their king, they voted a house of lords to be useless and dangerous, and would let them sit no longer, otherwise than when elected as commoners:

not

not to the house of commons; who must have heard, that in those fanatick times, the presbyterian and independent commanders in the army, by military power expelled all the moderate men out of the house, and left a rump to govern the nation: lastly, not to the crown; which those very saints, destined to rule the earth, trampled under their feet, and then in cold blood murdered the blessed wearer.

But the session now approaching, and a clan of dissenting teachers being come up to town from their northern head quarters, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and supported by a general contribution to solicit their establishment, with a capacity of holding all military, as well as civil employments, I think it high time that this paper should see the light. However, I cannot conclude without freely confessing, that if the presbyterians should obtain their ends, I could not be sorry to find them mistaken in the point which they have most at heart, by the repeal of the test, I mean the benefit of employments. For, after all, what assurance can a Scottish northern dissenter born on Irish ground have, that he shall be treated with as much favour as a true Scot born beyond the Tweed?

I am ready enough to believe, that all I have said will avail but little. I have the common excuse of other men, when I think myself bound by all religious and civil ties to discharge my conscience, and to warn my countrymen upon this important occasion. It is true, the advocates for this scheme promise a new world after this blessed work shall be completed; that all animosity and faction must immediately drop; that the only distinction in this kingdom will then be of papist and protestant: for, as to whig and tory,

high church and low church, jacobite and Hanoverian, court and country party, English and Irish interests, dissenters and conformists, new light and old light, anabaptist and independent, quaker and muggletonian; they will all meet and jumble together into a perfect harmony, at the sessions and assises, on the bench and in the revenues; and upon the whole, in all civil and military trusts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wisely argued thus: that a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is against the rules of good manners to shut any person out of the company, except the papists, who profess themselves of another club.

I am at a loss to know, what arts the presbyterian sect intends to use, in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their independent rivals) as soon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be against monarchy, as well as episcopacy and the house of lords, even until the king was restored: at which event, although they were forced to submit to the present power, yet I have not heard that they ever, to this day, renounce any one principle, by which their predecessors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at least to show that others have done it for them, by a certain doctor*, who, as I am told, has much employed his pen in the like disputes. I own, they will be ready enough to insinuate themselves into any government: but if they mean to be honest and upright, they will and must endeavour, by all

* The late Dr. Tisdal.

means

means which they shall think lawful, to introduce and establish their own scheme of religion, as nearest approaching to the word of God, by casting out all superstitious ceremonies, ecclesiastical titles, habits, distinctions, and superiorities, as rags of popery, in order to a thorough reformation; and as in charity bound to promote the salvation of their countrymen, wishing with St. Paul, that the whole kingdom were as they are. But what assurance will they please to give, that when their sect shall become the national established worship, they will treat Us Dissenters as we have treated them? Was this their course of proceeding during the dominion of the saints? Were not all the remainders of the episcopal church in those days, especially the clergy, under a persecution, for above a dozen years, equal to that of the primitive Christians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was suitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books against allowing any liberty of conscience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and among the rest one frequently insisted on; that allowing such a liberty would be to establish iniquity by a law*. Many of these writings are yet to be seen; and I hear have been quoted by the doctor abovementioned.

As to their great objection of prostituting that holy institution, the blessed sacrament, by way of a test before admittance into any employment; I ask, whether they would not be content to receive it after their own manner for the office of a judge, for that

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatise called, "Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence."

of a commissioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horse, or to be a lord justice? I believe they would scruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can say without bending a knee; for, as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles, is performed with little more solemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, since they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can, nor ought in consience to allow us that liberty, otherwise than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the papists. But lest we should offend them, I am ready to change this test for another; although I am afraid, that sanctified reason is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing, that the impiety and profanation of making the sacrament a test, were the only objection. I therefore propose, that before the present law be repealed, another may be enacted; that no man shall receive any employment, before he swears himself to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and discipline, &c. and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worship. It shall likewise be farther enacted, that whoever offends, &c. shall be fined five hundred pounds, imprisoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of all publick trust for ever. Otherwise I do insist, that those pious, indulgent, external professors of our national religion, shall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reason for taking off the test; or freely confess that they desire to have a gate wide open for every sect, without

out any test at all, except that of swearing loyalty to the king: which however, considering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would please to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter test, than any other that the law has yet invented.

For, from the first time that these sectaries appeared in the world, it has been always found, by their whole proceedings, that they professed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at present three civil establishments, where calvinists, and some other reformers who rejected episcopacy, possess the supreme power; and these are all republicks; I mean Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiss cantons. I do not say this in diminution or disgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confess I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by some observation, long experience, and a thorough detestation for the corruptions of mankind: insomuch that I am now justly liable to the censure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the histories of ancient Greece and Rome, those renowned scenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who must be supposed well to study and understand their own interest; they will best consider, whether those people, who in all their actions, preachings, and writings, have openly declared themselves against regal power, are to be safely placed in an equal degree of favour and trust, with those, who have been always found the true and only friends to the English establishment. From which consideration, I could have added one more article to my new test, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been assured by some persons who were present, that several of these dissenting teachers, upon their first arrival hither* to solicit the repeal of the test, were pleased to express their gratitude by publickly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the test must be delivered up by the very superiours appointed to defend it; the affair is already in effect at an end. What secret reasons those patrons may have given for such a return of brotherly love, I shall not inquire: "for O my "soul, come not thou into their secret; unto their "assembly, mine honour, be not thou united. For, "in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-"will they digged down a wall. Cursed be their "anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was "cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter "them in Israel."

* 'Arrival *hither*,' is not English; it should be 'arrival *here*.'

THE

# ADVANTAGES

PROPOSED BY

# REPEALING THE SACRAMENTAL TEST,

IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this subject, must do it not only as a mere secular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular system of Christianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worship and ceremony, which is looked upon as the established; and consequently, only the priests of that particular form are maintained at the publick charge; and all civil employments bestowed among those who comply (at least outwardly) with the same establishment.

This method is strictly observed, even by our neighbours the Dutch; who are confessed to allow the fullest liberty of conscience of any Christian state, and yet are never known to admit any persons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worship. As to their military men, they are indeed not so scrupulous; being, by the nature of their government,

government, under a necessity of hiring foreign troops of whatever religious denomination upon every great emergency, and maintaining no small number in time of peace.

This caution therefore of making one established faith, seems to be universal, and founded upon the strongest reasons; the mistaken, or affected zeal of obstinacy and enthusiasm, having produced such a number of horrible destructive events throughout all Christendom. For, whoever begins to think the national worship is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be serious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proselytes as he can: and a nation may possibly have a hundred different sects with their leaders; every one of which has an equal right to plead, that they must "obey God "rather than man;" must "cry aloud and spare not;" must "lift up their voice like a trumpet."

This was the very case of England during the fanatick times. And against all this there seems to be no defence, but that of supporting one established form of doctrine and discipline; leaving the rest to a bare liberty of conscience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the publick.

Wherever this national religion grows so corrupt, or is thought to do so by a very great majority of landed people, joined to the governing party, whether prince or senate, or both, it ought to be changed, provided the work might be done without blood or confusion. Yet, whenever such a change shall be made, some other establishment must succeed, although for the worse; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this sense, those who affirm that every law, which is

contrary

contrary to the law of God, is void in itself, seem to be mistaken: for many laws in popish kingdoms and states, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly against the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

Thus, for instance, if the three estates of parliament in England (whereof the lords spiritual, who represent the church, are one) should agree and obtain the royal assent to abolish episcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the English church, as burdensome, dangerous, and contrary to Holy Scripture; and that presbytery, anabaptism, quakerism, independency, Muggletonianism, Brownism, familism, or any other subdivided sect among us, should be established in its place: without question all peaceable subjects ought passively to submit, and the predominant sect must become the religion established; the publick maintaining no other teachers, nor admitting any persons of a different religious profession into civil offices, at least if their intention be to preserve the nation in peace.

Supposing then that the present system of religion were abolished; and presbytery, which I find stands the fairest, with its synods and classes, and all its forms and ceremonies, essential or circumstantial, were erected into the national worship: their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be supported at the publick charge, whether by stipends or tithes; and only the rest of the same faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reasoning in what I have laid down, it should seem, that the project now in agitation

agitation for repealing the test act, and yet leaving the name of an establishment to the present national church, is altogether inconsistent; and may admit of consequences, which those who are the most indifferent to any religion at all, are possibly not aware of.

I presume, whenever the test shall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all dissenters (except papists) whose consciences can suffer them to take the common oaths in such cases prescribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay station in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an exciseman.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench, the first may be a presbyterian, the second a freewill baptist, and the third a churchman; the lord chancellor may be an independent; the revenues may be managed by seven commissioners of as many different sects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the strong probability, that the lawfulness of taking oaths may be revealed to the quakers, who then will stand upon as good a foot for preferment as any other loyal subjects. It is obvious to imagine, that under such a motley administration of affairs, what a clashing there will be of interest and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backward and forward; what a zeal and bias in each religionist, to advance his own tribe, and depress the others. For I suppose nothing will be readier *

* '*Readier*' granted—a bad idiom; it should be—'*more readily* granted.'

granted,

granted, than that how indifferent soever most men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obstinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than those who publickly show the least sense either of religion or common honesty.

As to the latter, bishop Burnet tells us, that the presbyterians, in the fanatick times, professed themselves to be above morality; which, as we find in some of their writings, was numbered among the beggarly elements: and accordingly at this day, no scruples of conscience with regard to conformity, are, in any trade or calling, inconsistent with the greatest fraud, oppressions, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a passage in Montaigne, of a common prostitute, who in the storming of a town, when a soldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chastity, rather chose to venture her neck by leaping out of the window, than suffer a rape; yet still continued her trade of lewdness, while she had any customers left.

I confess, that in my private judgment, an unlimited permission of all sects whatsoever (except papists) to enjoy employments, would be less pernicious to the publick, than a fair struggle between two contenders; because, in the former case, such a jumble of principles might possibly have the effect of contrary poisons mingled together which a strong constitution might perhaps be able for some time to survive.

But however I shall take the other and more probable supposition, that this battle for employments is

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to be fought only between the presbyterians, and those of the church yet established. I shall not enter into the merits of either side, by examining which of the two is the better spiritual economy, or which is most suited to our civil constitution: but the question turns upon this point: when the presbyterians shall have got their share of employments (which must be one full half, or else they cannot look upon themselves as fairly dealt with) I ask, whether they ought not, by their own principles, and by the strictest rules of conscience, to use the utmost of their skill, power, and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to a uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and discipline, most agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can succeed without blood (as under the present disposition of things it is very possible they may) it is to be hoped they will at last be satisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The first is, of compromising among themselves, that important controversy about the old light and the new; which otherwise may, after this establishment, split them as wide as papist and protestant, whig and tory, or churchman and dissenter; and consequently the work will be to begin again: for, in religious quarrels, it is of little moment how few or small the differences are; especially when the dispute is only about power. Thus, the zealous presbyterians of the north are more alienated from the established clergy, than from the Romish priests; taxing the former with idolatrous worship, as disguised papists, ceremony-mongers, and many other terms of art and this for a very powerful reason; because the clergy stand in their way, which the popish priests do

do not. Thus, I am assured, that the quarrel between old and new light men is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other dispute of the highest importance; and this, because it serves to lessen or increase their several congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty, which may embarrass the presbyterians after their establishment, will be, how to adjust their claim of the kirk's independency on the civil power, with the constitution of this monarchy? a point so delicate, that it has often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy, without the least ground of suspicion.

As to the presbyterians allowing liberty of conscience to those episcopal principles, when their own kirk shall be predominant; their writers are so universally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no reasonable churchman (who must then be a dissenter) will expect it.

I shall here take notice, that in the division of employments among the presbyterians, after this approaching repeal of the test act, supposing them in proper time to have an equal share, the odds will be three or four to one on their side, in any farther scheme they may have toward making their religion national. For, I reckon all those gentlemen sent over from England, whatever religion they profess, or have been educated in, to be of that party: since it is no mark of prudence for any persons to oppose the current of a nation, where they are in some sort only sojourners; unless they have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politicks not to be controlled, it must be the following: that those, whose private

private interest is united with the interest of their country, supposing them to be of equal understanding with the rest of their neighbours, will heartily wish that the nation should thrive. Out of these, are indubitably excepted, all persons who are sent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; because they cannot possibly bear any affection to the place where they sojourn, even for life; their sole business being to advance themselves, by following the advice of their principals. I except likewise those persons who are taken into office, although natives of the land; because they are greater gainers, while they keep their offices, than they could possibly be, by mending the miserable condition of their country.

I except, thirdly, all hopers, who by balancing accounts with themselves turn the scale on the same side; because the strong expectation of a good certain salary, will outweigh the loss by bad rents, received out of lands in moneyless times.

If my lords the bishops, who I hear are now employed in a scheme for regulating the conduct and maintenance of the inferiour clergy, shall in their wisdom, and piety, and love of the church, consent to this repeal of the test, I have not the least doubt that the whole reverend body will cheerfully submit to their spiritual fathers; of whose paternal tenderness for their welfare, they have found so many amazing instances.

I am not therefore under the least concern about the clergy on this account. They will (for some time) be no great sufferers by this repeal; because I cannot recollect, among all our sects, any one, that gives latitude enough to take the oaths required at

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an institution to a church-living; and until that bar shall be removed, the present episcopal clergy are safe for two years. Although it may be thought somewhat unequal, that in the northern parts, where there may be three dissenters to one churchman, the whole revenue shall be engrossed by him, who has so small a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this disadvantage, which the dissenters at present lie under, of a disability to receive church-preferments, will be easily remedied by the repeal of the test. For, the dissenting teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments; wherein they agree perfectly with the popish clergy; among whom, great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief ministers, knights of many orders, ambassadors, secretaries of state, and in most high offices under the crown; although they assert the indelible character, which no sectaries among us did ever assume. But that many, both presbyterians and independents, commanders as well as private soldiers, were professed teachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himself was a preacher; and has left us one of his sermons in print, exactly in the same style and manner with those of our modern presbyterian teachers: so was colonel Howard, sir George Downing, and several others, whose names are on record. I can therefore see no reason, why a painful presbyterian teacher, as soon as the test shall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with the spiritual office and stipend, a commission in the army or the civil list, *in commendam:* for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of christians, which in effect disqualifies

those, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from sharing in the civil power, farther than as senators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of popery, many hundred years before the reformation, and woven with the very institution of our limited monarchy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the stipends of dissenting teachers may be raised, and the farmer much relieved; if it should be thought proper to reward a people so deserving, and so loyal by their principles. Every bishop, upon the vacancy of a church-living, can sequester the profits for the use of the next incumbent. Upon a lapse of half a year, the donation falls to the archbishop, and after a full year to the crown, during pleasure. Therefore it would be no hardship for any clergyman alive, if (in those parts of Ireland, where the number of sectaries much exceeds that of the conformists) the profits, when sequestered, might be applied to the support of the dissenting teacher, who has so many souls to take care of: whereby the poor tenants would be much relieved in those hard times, and in a better condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter, against which a remedy does not so readily occur. For, supposing the test act repealed, and the dissenters, in consequence, fully qualified for all secular employments; the question may still be put, whether those of Ireland will be often the persons on whom they shall be bestowed; because it is imagined, there may be another seminary * in view, more numerous, and more needy, as well as more

* Scotland.

meriting,

meriting, and more easily contented with such low offices; which some nearer neighbours, hardly think it worth stirring from their chimney-sides to obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of those who are skilled in the management of bees, that when they see a foreign swarm at some distance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, these artists have a trick to divert them into some neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they please. This I should not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many suspecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to see dangers afar off: to all which I can only say, that our native presbyterians must, by pains and industry, raise such a fund of merit, as will answer to a birth six degrees more to the north. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as several of the established church have compassed by indefatigable pains, I do not well see how their affairs will much mend by repealing the test: for, to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be disqualified in fact, as it will much increase the mortification, so it will withdraw the pity of many among their well wishers, and utterly deprive them of that merit they have so long made, of being a loyal true protestant people, persecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their case, they must wait maturity of time; until they can, by prudent gentle steps, make their faith become the religion established in the nation; after which, I do not in the least doubt that they will take the most effectual methods to secure their power, against those who must then be dissenters in their turn; whereof, if we

may form a future opinion from present times, and the dispositions of dissenters, who love to make a thorough reformation, the number and qualities will be very inconsiderable.

Thus I have, with the utmost sincerity, after long thinking, given my judgment upon this arduous affair; but with the utmost deference and submission to publick wisdom and power.

QUERIES

# QUERIES

RELATING TO

# THE SACRAMENTAL TEST.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1732.

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QUERY, WHETHER hatred and violence between parties in a state, be not more inflamed by different views of interest, than by the greater or lesser differences between them, either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the question at this time, which of the two religions is worse, popery or fanaticism; or not rather, which of the two (having both the same good will) is in the hopefullest condition to ruin the church?

Whether the sectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the papists?

Whether the prevailing sectaries could allow liberty of conscience to dissenters, without belying all their former practice, and almost all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thousand Scotch presbyterians are not fully as virulent against the episcopal church, as they are against the papists; or as

they would have us think the papists are against them ?

Whether the Dutch, who are most distinguished for allowing liberty of conscience, do ever admit any persons, who profess a different scheme of worship from their own, into civil employments, although they may be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions ?

Whether the dissenters ever pretended, until of late years, to desire more than a bare toleration ?

Whether, if it be true, what a sorry pamphleteer asserts, who lately writ for repealing the test, that the dissenters in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a necessary point of prudence, by all proper and lawful means, to prevent their farther increase ?

The great argument given, by those whom they call low churchmen, to justify the large tolerations allowed to disssenters, has been ; that by such indulgences, the rancour of those sectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties, in a little time, crumble to nothing.

*Query*, Whether if what the above pamphleteer asserts, that the sectaries are equal in numbers with conformists, be true, it does not clearly follow, that those repeated tolerations, have operated directly contrary, to what those low church politicians pretended to foresee and expect ?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or distinguished, if he think his own profession most agreeable to Holy Scripture, and the primitive church, can really wish in his heart, that all sectaries should be upon an equal foot with the churchmen, in the point of civil power and employments ?

Whether

Whether episcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apostolical institution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that essential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether, by necessary consequences, the several expedients among the sectaries to constitute their teachers, are not absolutely null and void?

Whether the sectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from bishops?

Whether the bishops and clergy will be content to give up episcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well subsist?

Whether that great tenderness toward sectaries, which now so much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of popery, or to that spirit of atheism, deism, scepticism, and universal immorality, which all good men so much lament?

Granting popery to have many more errours in religion, than any one branch of the sectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of these kingdoms, with allowance for the short time which the sectaries had to act in, who are in a manner but of yesterday. The papists, in the time of king James the Second, used all endeavours to establish their superstition, wherein they failed by the united power of English church-protestants, with the prince of Orange's assistance. But it cannot be asserted, that these bigotted papists had the least design to oppose or murder their king, much less, to abolish kingly government; nor was it their interest or inclination to attempt either.

On the other side the puritans, who had almost from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign been

a perpetual thorn in the church's side, joining with the Scotch enthusiasts, in the time of king Charles the First, were the principal cause of the Irish rebellion and massacre, by distressing that prince, and making it impossible for him to send over timely succours. And after that prince had satisfied his parliament in every single point to be complained of, the same sectaries, by poisoning the minds and affections of the people, with the most false and wicked representations of their king, were able, in the compass of a few years, to embroil the three nations in a bloody rebellion, at the expense of many thousand lives; to turn the kingly power into anarchy; to murder their prince in the face of the world; and (in their own style) to destroy the church root and branch.

The account therefore stands thus. The papists aimed at one pernicious act, which was to destroy the protestant religion; wherein by God's mercy, and the assistance of our glorious king William, they absolutely failed. The sectaries attempted the three most infernal actions that could possibly enter into the hearts of men forsaken by God; which were, the murder of a most pious king, the destruction of the monarchy, and the extirpation of the church; and succeeded in them all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of those sectaries have ever yet in a solemn publick manner renounced any one of those principles, upon which their predecessors then acted?

Whether, considering the cruel persecutions of the episcopal church during the course of that horrid rebellion, and the consequences of it until the happy restoration, it is not manifest, that the persecuting spirit

spirit lies so equally divided between the papists and the sectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either side ?

And therefore, lastly, Whether any person of common understanding, who professes himself a member of the church established, although, perhaps with little inward regard to any religion (which is too often the case) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can, after cool thinking, rejoice to see a power placed again in the hands of so restless, so ambitious, and so merciless a faction, to act over all the same parts a second time !

Whether the candour of that expression, so frequent of late in sermons and pamphlets, of the strength and number of the papists in Ireland, can be justified ? for, as to their number, however great, it is always magnified in proportion to the zeal or politicks of the speaker and writer ; but it is a gross imposition upon common reason, to terrify us with their strength. For, popery, under the circumstances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offensive and inconvenient enough from the consequences it has to increase the rapine, sloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that sense, as some would have us take it ; because it is universally hated by every party of a different religious profession. It is the contempt of the wise ; the best topick for clamours of designing men; but the real terrour only of fools. The landed popish interest in England, far exceeds that among us, even in proportion to the wealth and extent of each kingdom. The little that remains here is daily dropping into protestant hands, by purchase or descent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit converts,

converts, will fall with the cause of it in half a generation, unless it be raised or kept alive as a continual fund of merit and eloquence. The papists are wholly disarmed: they have neither courage, leaders, money, or inclinations to rebel: they want every advantage which they formerly possessed, to follow their trade; and wherein, even with those advantages, they always miscarried: they appear very easy and satisfied under that connivance, which they enjoyed during the whole last reign; nor ever scrupled to reproach another party, under which they pretend to have suffered so much severity.

Upon these considerations, I must confess to have suspended much of my pity toward the great dreaders of popery; many of whom appear to be hale, strong, active, young men; who, as I am told, eat, drink, and sleep heartily; and are very cheerful (as they have exceeding good reason) upon all other subjects. However, I cannot too much commend the generous concern, which our neighbours and others who come from the same neighbourhood, are so kind to express for us upon this account; although the former, be farther removed from the danger of popery, by twenty leagues of salt water; but this, I fear, is a digression.

When an artificial report was raised here many years ago, of an intended invasion by the pretender (which blew over after it had done its office) the dissenters argued, in their talk and in their pamphlets, after this manner, applying themselves to those of the church: "Gentlemen, if the pretender had "landed, as the law now stands, we durst not assist "you; and therefore, unless you take off the test, "whenever you shall happen to be invaded in "earnest,

" earnest, if we are desired to take up arms in your " defence, our answer shall be, Pray, gentlemen, " fight your own battles; we will lie by quietly; " conquer your enemies by yourselves, if you can; " we will not do your drudgery." This way of reasoning I have heard from several of their chiefs and abettors, in a hundred conversations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project should fail to take off the test.

Upon which piece of oratory and reasoning I form the following query: Whether, in case of an invasion from the pretender (which is not quite so probable as from the grand signior) the dissenters can with prudence and safety, offer the same plea; except they shall have made a previous stipulation with the invaders? And whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives, and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, sufficient motives for repelling invasion; especially in our sectaries, who call themselves the truest protestants, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceness against popery?

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate the day of the martyrdom of the blessed king Charles the First, enjoined by act of parliament, can be justly reckoned a particular and distinguishing mark of good affection to the present government?

Whether, in those churches where the said day is observed, it will fully answer the intent of the said act, if the preacher shall commend, excuse, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion, with all its consequences, the following usurpations, the entire destruction

struction of the church, the cruel and continual persecutions of those who could be discovered to profess its doctrines, with the ensuing Babel of fanaticism, to the account of that blessed king; who, by granting the petition of right, and passing every bill that could be asked for the security of the subject, had, by the confession of those wicked men before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether such a preacher as I have named (whereof there have been more than one, not many years past, even in the presence of viceroys) who takes that course as a means for promotion, may not be thought to step a little out of the common road, in a monarchy, where the descendants of that most blessed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reason of making these queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS

# REASONS

HUMBLY OFFERED

## TO THE PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND

FOR REPEALING

## THE SACRAMENTAL TEST

IN

## FAVOUR OF THE CATHOLICKS,

OTHERWISE CALLED ROMAN CATHOLICKS, AND BY THEIR ILL WILLERS, PAPISTS.

WRITTEN IN 1732.

DRAWN PARTLY FROM ARGUMENTS AS THEY ARE CATHOLICKS, AND PARTLY FROM ARGUMENTS COMMON TO THEM WITH THEIR BRETHREN THE DISSENTERS.

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IT is well known, that the first conquerors of this kingdom were English catholicks, subjects to English catholick kings, from whom by their valour and success they obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the Irish: to which merit, our brethren the dissenters, of any denomination whatsoever, have not the least pretensions.

It is confessed, that the posterity of those first victorious

victorious catholicks, were often forced to rise in their own defence, against new colonies from England, who treated them like mere native Irish with innumerable oppressions, depriving them of their lands, and driving them by force of arms into the most desolate parts of the kingdom; till, in the next generation, the children of these tyrants were used in the same manner, by new English adventurers; which practice continued for many centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, that no insurrections were ever made, except after great oppressions by fresh invaders; whereas all the rebellions of puritans, presbyterians, independents, and other sectaries, constantly began before any provocations were given, except that they were not suffered to change the government in church and state, and seize both into their own hands; which, however, at last they did, with the murder of their king, and of many thousands of his best subjects.

The catholicks were always defenders of monarchy, as constituted in these kingdoms; whereas, our brethren the dissenters, were always republicans both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the catholicks of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true whigs, in the best and most proper sense of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the royal house of Hanover, in the person and posterity of George II, against the pretender and all his adherents; to which they think themselves bound in gratitude, as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that princess, during

during the administration of that wicked minister the earl of Oxford.

The catholicks of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at least as fair a title, as any of their brother dissenters, to the appellation of protestants. They have always protested against the selling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; against the usurpations and avarice of the court of Rome; against deism, atheism, socinianism, quakerism, muggletonianism, fanaticism, brownism, as well as against all Jews, Turks, infidels, and hereticks. Whereas the title of protestants assumed by the whole herd of dissenters (except ourselves) depends entirely upon their protesting against archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expressions used in the solemn league and covenant*, where the word popery is only mentioned *ad invidiam;* because the catholicks agree with the episcopal church in those fundamentals.

Although the catholicks cannot deny, that in the great rebellion against king Charles I, more soldiers of their religion were in the parliament army, than in his majesty's troops; and that many jesuits and friars went about, in the disguise of presbyterian and independent ministers, to preach up rebellion, as the best historians of those times inform us; yet

* A solemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and English fanaticks in the rebellion against king Charles I, 1643, by which they solemnly engaged among other things, "to endeavour "the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government, by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and all other episcopal officers depending on that hierarchy."

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the bulk of catholicks in both kingdoms preserved their loyalty entire.

The catholicks have some reason to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not please to distinguish between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian sir Phelim O'Neal, with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raised afterward by the catholick lords and gentlemen of the English pale, in defence of the king, after the English rebellion began. It is well known, that his majesty's affairs were in great distraction some time before, by an invasion of the covenanting Scottish kirk rebels, and by the base terms the king was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet, at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatick party, which soon after set all in a flame. And if the catholick army in Ireland, fought for their king, against the forces sent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion against him, what person of loyal principles can be so partial as to deny that they did their duty, by joining with the marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commissions from the king? for which, great numbers of them lost their lives, and forfeited their estates; a great part of the latter being now possessed by many descendants from those very men, who had drawn their swords in the service of that rebellious parliament, which cut off his head, and destroyed monarchy. And what is more amazing, although the same persons, when the Irish were intirely subdued, continued in power under the rump, were chief confidents and faithful subjects to Cromwell, yet, being wise enough to foresee a restoration,

restoration, they seized the forts and castles here out of the hands of their brethren in rebellion, for the service of the king; just saving the tide, and putting in a stock of merit sufficient not only to preserve the land which the catholicks lost by their loyalty, but likewise to preserve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Those insurrections wherewith the catholicks are charged, from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the great English rebellion, were occasioned by many oppressions they lay under. They had no intention to introduce a new religion, but to enjoy the liberty of preserving the old; the very same which their ancestors professed from the time that christianity was first introduced into this island, which was by catholicks; but whether mingled with corruptions, as some pretend, does not belong to the question. They had no design to change the government; they never attempted to fight against, to imprison, to betray, to sell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. The schismaticks acted by a spirit directly contrary; they united in a solemn league and covenant to alter the whole system of spiritual government, established in all christian nations, and of apostolick institution; concluding the tragedy with the murder of the king, in cold blood, and upon mature deliberation; at the same time changing the monarchy into a commonwealth.

The catholicks of Ireland, in the great rebellion, lost their estates for fighting in defence of their king. The schismaticks, who cut off the father's head, forced the son to fly for his life, and overturned the whole ancient frame of government, religious and civil: obtained grants of those very

estates which the catholicks lost in defence of the ancient constitution, many of which estates are at this day possessed by the posterity of those schismaticks: and thus they gained by their rebellion, what the catholicks lost by their loyalty.

We allow the catholicks to be brethren of the dissenters; some people indeed (which we cannot allow) would have them to be our children, because we both dissent from the church established, and both agree in abolishing this persecuting sacramental test; by which negative discouragement, we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of these schismaticks, in calling the members of the national church, their brethren and fellow protestants. It is true that all these sects (except the catholicks) are brethren to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverseness, pride, and (if we except the quakers) in rebellion. But, how the churchmen can be styled their fellow protestants, we cannot comprehend: because, when the whole Babel of sectaries joined against the church, the king and the nobility, for twenty years, in a match at football, where the proverb expressly tells us, that all are fellows; while the three kingdoms were tossed to and fro, the churches and cities and royal palaces shattered to pieces by their balls, their buffets, and their kicks; the victors would allow no more fellows at football; but murdered, sequestered, plundered, deprived, banished to the plantations, or enslaved all their opposers, who had lost the game.

It is said the world is governed by opinion; and politicians assure us, that all power is founded thereupon.

thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to distraction of their own opinions, and so much the more, as those opinions are absurd, ridiculous, or of little moment, it must follow, that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with so much obstinacy as those in religion, especially by such zealots who never bore the least regard to religion, conscience, honour, justice, truth, mercy, or common morality, farther than in outward appearance, under the mask of hypocrisy, to promote their diabolical designs. And therefore bishop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honestly, that the saints of those fanatick times pronounced themselves above morality; which they reckoned among beggarly elements; but the meaning of these two last words, thus applied, we confess to be above our understanding.

Among those kingdoms and states which first embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the most regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the supreme power of a king* and the three estates in parliament; to which, as the highest legislative authority, all subjects are bound passively to submit. Neither was there much blood shed on so great a change of religion. But a considerable number of lords, and other persons of quality through the kingdom, still continued in their old faith, and were, notwithstanding their difference in religion, employed in offices civil as well as military, more or less in every reign, until the test act in the time of king Charles II. However, from the time of

* Henry VIII.

the reformation, the number of catholicks gradually and considerably lessened. So that in the reign of king Charles I, England became in a great degree a protestant kingdom, without taking the sectaries into the number; the legality whereof, with respect to human laws, the catholicks never disputed; but the puritans, and other schismaticks, without the least pretence to any such authority, by an open rebellion, destroyed that legal Reformation, as we observed before, murdered their king, and changed the monarchy into a republick. It is therefore not to be wondered at, if the catholicks, in such a Babel of religions, chose to adhere to their own faith left them by their ancestors, rather than seek for a better among a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, deluding knaves, or deluded enthusiasts.

We repeat once more, that if a national religion be changed by the supreme legislative power, we cannot dispute the human legality of such a change. But we humbly conceive, that if any considerable party of men, which differs from an establishment either old or new, can deserve liberty of conscience, it ought to consist of those, who, for want of conviction, or of right understanding the merits of each cause, conceive themselves bound in conscience to adhere to the religion of their ancestors; because they are, of all others, least likely to be authors of innovations either in church or state.

On the other side; if the reformation of religion be founded upon rebellion against the king, without whose consent by the nature of our constitution no law can pass; if this reformation be introduced by only one of the three estates, I mean the commons, and not by one half even of those commons,

and

and this by the assistance of a rebellious army; again, if this reformation were carried on by the exclusion of nobles both lay and spiritual, (who constitute the other part of the three estates) by the murder of their king, and by abolishing the whole system of government; the catholicks cannot see why the successors of those schismaticks, who are universally accused by all parties, except themselves and a few infamous abettors, for still retaining the same principles in religion and government, under which their predecessors acted, should pretend to a better share of civil or military trust, profit, and power than the catholicks; who, during all that period of twenty years, were continually prosecuted with the utmost severity, merely on account of their loyalty and constant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to those arguments for repealing the sacramental test, which equally affect the catholicks, and their brethren the dissenters.

First, we agree with our fellow dissenters, that persecution merely for conscience sake is against the genius of the Gospel. And so likewise is any law for depriving men of their natural and civil rights which they claim as men. We are also ready enough to allow, that the smallest negative discouragements for uniformity's sake are so many persecutions. Because it cannot be denied, that the scratch of a pin is in some degree a real wound, as much as a stab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or justice of the peace, merely on a point of conscience, is a negative discouragement, and consequently a real persecution: for in this case, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the

margin* puts a very pertinent and powerful question: If God be the sole Lord of the conscience, why should the rights of conscience be subject to human jurisdiction? Now to apply this to the catholicks; the belief of transubstantiation is a matter purely of religion and conscience, which does not affect the political interest of society, as such: therefore, why should the rights of conscience whereof God is the sole Lord, be subject to human jurisdiction? And why should God be deprived of this right over a catholick's conscience, any more than over that of any other dissenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the dissenters, has very justly complained, that by this persecuting test act, great numbers of true protestants have been forced to leave the kingdom, and fly to the plantations, rather than stay here branded with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the catholicks can bring many more instances of the same kind; some thousands of their religion having been forced by the sacramental test, to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing swords, sitting in parliament, and getting that share of power and profit which belongs to them as fellow christians, whereof they are deprived merely upon account of conscience, which would not allow them to take the sacrament after the manner prescribed in the liturgy. Hence it clearly follows, in the words of the same author†, That if we catholicks are incapable of employment, we are punished for our dis-

* Reasons for the repealing of the Sacramental Test.

† See Reasons against the Test.

sent,

sent, that is, for our conscience, which wholly turns upon political considerations.

The catholicks are willing to acknowledge the king's supremacy, whenever their brethren the dissenters shall please to show them an example.

Farther, the catholicks, whenever their religion shall come to be the national established faith, are willing to undergo the same test offered by the author already quoted. His words are these: "To "end this debate, by putting it upon a foot, which "I hope will appear to every impartial person, a "fair and equitable one: we catholicks propose, "with submission to the proper judges, that effec- "tual security be taken against persecution, by "obliging all who are admitted into places of power "and trust, whatever their religious profession be, "in the most solemn manner to disclaim persecuting "principles." It is hoped the publick will take notice of these words, whatever their religious profession be; which plainly include the catholicks; and for which we return thanks to our dissenting brethren.

And whereas it is objected by those of the established church, that if the schismaticks and fanaticks were once put into a capacity of possessing civil and military employments, they would never be at ease, till they had raised their own way of worship into the national religion, through all his majesty's dominions, equal with the true orthodox Scottish kirk; which when they had once brought to pass, they would no more allow liberty of conscience to episcopal dissenters, than they did in the time of the great English rebellion, and in the succeeding fanatick anarchy, till the king was restored.

There is another very learned schismatical pamphleteer*, who, in answer to a malignant libel, called *The Presbyterian Plea of Merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this aspersion, by assuring all episcopal protestants of the present church, upon his own word, and to his knowledge, that our brethren the dissenters will never offer at such an attempt. In like manner, the catholicks, when legally required, will openly declare, upon their words and honours, that as soon as their negative discouragements, and their persecution shall be removed, by repealing the sacramental test, they will leave it entirely to the merit of the cause, whether the kingdom shall think fit to make their faith the established religion or not.

And again, whereas our presbyterian brethren, in many of their pamphlets, take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected against them both in and out of season, by our common enemy the present conformists; we do declare, in the defence of our said brethren, that the reproach aforesaid is an old worn out threadbare cant, which they always disdained to answer: and I very well remember, that having once told a certain conformist, how much I wondered to hear him and his tribe dwelling perpetually on so beaten a subject, he was pleased to divert the discourse with a foolish story, which I cannot forbear telling to his disgrace. He said, there was a clergyman in Yorkshire, who, for fifteen years together, preached every Sunday against drunkenness: whereat the parishioners being much offended, com-

* Vindication of the Protestant Dissenters.

plained

plained to the archbishop; who having sent for the clergyman, and severely reprimanded him, the minister had no better an answer, than by confessing the fact; adding, that all the parish were drunkards; that he desired to reclaim them from one vice, before he would begin upon another; and since they still continued to be as great drunkards as before, he resolved to go on, except his grace would please to forbid him.

We are very sensible how heavy an accusation lies upon the catholicks of Ireland; that some years before king Charles II was restored, when theirs and the king's forces were entirely reduced, and the kingdom declared by the rump to be settled; after all his majesty's generals were forced to fly to France, or other countries, the heads of the said catholicks, who remained here in an enslaved condition, joined to send an invitation to the duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing here with his forces, to deliver up the whole island to his power, and declare him their sovereign; which, after the restoration, was proved against them by dean Boyle, since primate, who produced the very original instrument at the board. The catholicks freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the same time appeal to all the world, whether a wiser, a better, a more honourable, or a more justifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to slavery and beggary by the English rebels, many thousands of them murdered, the rest deprived of their estates, and driven to live on a small pittance in the wilds of Connaught; at a time when either the rump, or Cromwell, absolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the question will turn upon this, whether the catholicks,

catholicks, deprived of all their possessions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter despair of ever seeing the monarchy restored, for the preservation of which they had suffered so much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a considerable army to support them, rather than submit to so infamous a usurper as Cromwell, or such a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the rump. And I have often heard not only our friends the dissenters, but even our common enemies the conformists, who are conversant in the history of those times, freely confess, that considering the miserable situation the Irish were then in, they could not have thought of a braver, or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been instruments of restoring the lawful monarch, at least to the recovery of England and Scotland, from those betrayers, and sellers, and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the last quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a brand that lies upon them, it is a great mistake: for the first original brand has been long taken of; only we confess the scar will probably remain, and be visible for ever to those who know the principles by which they acted, and until those principles shall be openly renounced; else it must continue to all generations, like the mark set upon Cain, which some authors say descended to all his posterity; or like the Roman nose and Austrian lip, or like the long bag of flesh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any brands fixed on schismaticks for several years past, they have been all made with cold iron; like thieves, who by the benefit of the clergy are condemned to be only burned in the

the hand; but escape the pain and the mark by being in fee with the jailor. Which advantage the schismatical teachers will never want, who, as we are assured, and of which there is a very fresh instance, have the souls, and bodies, and purses of their people, a hundred times more at their mercy, than the catholick priests could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the catholicks do humbly petition (without the least insinuation of threatening) that upon this favourable juncture, their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very same reasons (beside others more cogent) that are now offered by their brethren the dissenters.

And your Petitioners, as in duty bound,
shall ever pray, &c *.

Dublin, Nov. 1733.

* In this controversy the author was again victorious, for the test was not repealed.

A SHORT

# CHARACTER

OF HIS EXCELLENCY

# THOMAS, EARL OF WHARTON,

## LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND*.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME SMALLER FACTS DURING HIS GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL NOT BE PUT INTO THE ARTICLES OF IMPEACHMENT.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1710.

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LONDON, Aug. 30, 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, since the English establishment, are usually digested under the heads of several governors: but the affairs and events of that island, for some years past, have been either so insignificant, or so annexed to those of England, that they have not furnished matter of any great importance

* In a confidential letter to Stella, dated Nov. 25, 1710, Dr. Swift says, "Here is a damned libellous pamphlet come out against "lord Wharton, giving the character first, and then telling some "of his actions: the character is very well, but the facts in-"different.

portance to history. The share of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the rest, which relates to politicks, or the art of government, is inconsiderable to the last degree, however it may be represented at court by those who preside there, and would value themselves upon every step they make toward finishing the slavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally speaking, the times which afford most plentiful matter for story, are those wherein a man would least choose to live; such as, the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one: and lastly, the arbitrary unlawful acts of oppressing governors. In the war, Ireland has no share but in subordination to us; the same may be said of their factions, which at present are but imperfect transcripts of ours: but, the third subject for history, which is arbitrary power and oppression, as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for some time, been distinguished from all her majesty's subjects,

" different. It has been sent by dozens to several gentlemen's " lodgings, and I had one or two of them; but nobody knows " the author or printer." This is a proof how cautious the dean was in acknowledging his political productions, even to his nearest friends. In a subsequent letter dated Dec. 23, he adds, " The " character is here reckoned admirable; but most of the facts are " trifles. It was first printed privately here; and then some bold " cur ventured to do it publickly, and sold two thousand in two " days; who the author is, must remain uncertain. Do you pre- " tend to know, impudence! how durst you think so?" See archbishop King's remarks on this character, in a letter to Dr. Swift, dated Jan. 9, 1710, in vol. XI. of this collection.

so,

so, being now at its greatest height under his excellency Thomas, earl of Wharton, a short account of his government may be of some use or entertainment to the present age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next.

And because the relation I am going to make may be judged rather a history of his excellency, than of his government, I must here declare that I have not the least view to his person in any part of it. I have had the honour of much conversation with his lordship, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applause, and how insensible of reproach: which is not an humour put on to serve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor arising from the consciousness of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the sense of shame, or glory, as some men are without the sense of smelling; and therefore, a good name to him, is no more than a precious ointment would be, to these. Whoever, for the sake of others, were to describe the nature of a serpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, must be understood to do it without any personal love or hatred for the animals themselves.

In the same manner, his excellency is one whom I neither personally love nor hate. I see him at court, at his own house, and sometimes at mine, for I have the honour of his visits; and when these papers are publick, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occasion, "that he is dam-"nably mauled;" and then, with the easiest transition in the world, ask about the weather, or time of the day: so that I enter on the work with more cheerfulness, because I am sure neither to make him angry,

angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happiness and security to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philosopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance, by first giving a character of his excellency, and then relating some facts during his government in Ireland, which will serve to confirm it.

I know very well that men's characters are best learned from their actions; but these being confined to his administration in that kingdom, his character may, perhaps, take in something more, which the narrowness of the time, or the scene, has not given him opportunity to exert.

Thomas, earl of Wharton, lord lieutenant of Ireland, by the force of a wonderful constitution, has some years passed his grand climacterick, without any visible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind; and in spite of a continual prostitution to those vices, which usually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whether he walks, or whistles, or swears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himself in each, beyond a templar of three years standing. With the same grace, and in the same style, he will rattle his coachman in the midst of the street, where he is governor of the kingdom; and all this is without consequence, because it is in his character, and what every body expects. He seems to be but an ill dissembler, and an ill liar, although they are the two talents he most practises, and most values himself upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appear to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them: his lies being sometimes detected in an hour,

hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, although he knows half of those that hear him to be his enemies, and is sure they will discover them the moment they leave him. He swears solemnly he loves, and will serve you; and your back is no sooner turned, but he tells those about him, you are a dog and a rascal. He goes constantly to prayers in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blasphemy at the chapel door. He is a presbyterian in politicks, and an atheist in religion; but he chooses at present to whore with a papist. In his commerce with mankind his general rule is, to endeavour to impose on their understandings, for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths: and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy counsellor; by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused, and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to day, because you are not of his party; to morrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendliness on your shoulders, and with the greatest ease and familiarity, tell you, that the faction are driving at something in the house; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, although he knows at the same time, that you and your friends are against him in the very point he mentions: and however absurd, ridiculous, and gross this may appear, he has often found it successful; some men having such an awkward bashfulness, they know not how to refuse on a sudden; and every man having something to fear, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes

tremes with persons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He has sunk his fortune by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom*, and has raised it by going far in the ruin of another†. With a good natural understanding, a great fluency in speaking, and no ill taste of wit, he is generally the worst companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politicks, so that bawdy, prophaneness, and business, fill up his whole conversation. To gratify himself in the two first, he makes use of suitable favourites, whose talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdness that passes in town. As for business, he is said to be very dexterous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue; and he seems to have transferred those talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into publick affairs. For, as some vain young fellows to make a gallantry appear of consequence, will choose to venture their necks by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon day; so his excellency, either to keep himself in practice, or advance the fame of his politicks, affects the most obscure, troublesome, and winding paths, even in the most common affairs, those which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow of course whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a stoick, and thinks them well recompensed, by a return of children to support his family, without the fatigues of being a father.

* England. † Ireland.

He has three predominant passions, which you will seldom find united in the same man, as arising from different dispositions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: these are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleasure; they ride him sometimes by turns, sometimes all together. Since he went into Ireland, he seems most disposed to the second, and has met with great success; having gained by his government, of under two years, five and forty thousand pounds by the most favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He was never yet known to refuse, or keep a promise, as I remember he told a lady, but with an exception to the promise he then made (which was to get her a pension): yet he broke even that, and, I confess, deceived us both. But here I desire to distinguish between a promise and a bargain; for he will be sure to keep the latter, when he has the fairest offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character; I shall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were transmitted to me by an eminent person in business there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whose employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of several facts independent of each other, I shall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correspondent omitting that circumstance, and transmitting them to me as they came into his memory; so that the gentlemen of that kingdom now in town, I hope, will pardon me any slips I shall make in that

or

or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, esq. chirurgeon general of Ireland, a person universally esteemed, and whom I have formerly seen here, had built a countryhouse, half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, just under his house, he was much annoyed with a dogkennel which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas, earl of Pembroke, then lord lieutenant, and to the commissioners of the revenue, for a lease of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treasurer here, and sent back for a report, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord treasurer struck off some part of the rent. He had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent: the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and by his absolute authority, commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land; which he was forced to do, after all the expense he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment; at the same time he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord lieutenant, there came over, to make his court, one Dr. Lloyd, fellow of Trinity college, Dublin, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that

declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom Broderick, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that being provided of a proper chaplain already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: the doctor attended his excellency to Ireland; and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady, he thought, by addressing there, to have a short open passage to preferment. He met with great success in his amour; and walking one day with his mistress after my lord and lady in the Castle-garden, my lady said to his excellency, "What do you think? we are going to "lose poor Foydy," a name of fondness they usually gave her. "How do you mean?" said my lord. "Why the doctor behind us is resolved to take her "from us." "Is he by G—? Why then (G—d "d—mn me) he shall have the first bishoprick that "falls*."

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a most violent lover, returned with his excellency for England, and soon after the bishoprick of Cork falling void, to show he meant fair, he married his damsel publickly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the bishoprick; but the matter was reckoned so infamous, that both the archbishops here, especially his grace of York, interposed with the queen, to hinder so great a scandal to the church; and Dr. Brown, provost of Dublin college,

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this subject, he once said, with great pleasure, that he hoped to make his whore a bishop. SWIFT.

being

being then in town, her majesty was pleased to nominate him; so that Dr. Lloyd was forced to sit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a sweet lady, who brought this her first husband no other portion than a couple of olive branches for his table, though she herself hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reserves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herself, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provostship of Dublin college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr. Brown. Dr. Benjamin Pratt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the house of commons of that kingdom, as well as domestick chaplain to the duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: he is a person of wit and learning, has travelled and conversed in the best company, and was very much esteemed among us here when I had the pleasure of his acquaintance: but he had the original sin of being a reputed tory, and a dependant on the duke of Ormond; however, he had many friends among the bishops, and other nobility, to recommend him to the queen. At the same time there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall, who had the advantage of Pratt in point of seniority. This gentleman had very little introduced himself into the world, but lived retired, though otherwise said to be an excellent person, and very deserving for his learning and sense. He had been recommended from

Ireland by several persons; and his excellency, who had never before seen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure the college by recommending persons from this side, at last set up Hall, with all imaginable zeal against Pratt. I tell this story the more circumstantially, because it is affirmed by his excellency's friends, that he never made more use of his court skill than at this time, to hinder Dr. Pratt from the provostship; not only from the personal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with some little opinion of his credit at court, which had mightily suffered by many disappointments, especially the last, of his chaplain Dr. Lloyd. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he used to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency so at his levees; who sometimes could not conceal his surprise, and then would promise, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himself one way or other; these were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after some expostulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths that he would never oppose him more; his excellency went immediately to the bishop of Ely, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majesty know, that he never could consent, as long as he lived, that Dr. Pratt should be provost; which the bishop barely complied with, and delivered his message, though at the same time he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for so open a proceeding; the affair was now past dissembling, and his excellency owned he did

did not oppose him directly, but confessed he did it collaterally. The doctor, a little warmed, said, "No, my lord, you mean directly you did not, but "indirectly you did." The conclusion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and as a farther mortification, just upon the day of his excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I must desire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digest the following facts in so good a manner as I intended; because it is thought expedient, for some reasons, that the world should be informed of his excellency's merits as soon as possible. I will therefore only transcribe the several passages as they were sent me from Dublin, without either correcting the style, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may serve for hints to any person who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

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*A relation of several facts, exactly as they were transmitted to me from Ireland about three months ago, and at several times, from a person of quality, and in employment there.*

THE earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for her majesty's service abroad, on the 27th of August, 1709, and left their horses behind them, which were subsisted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horses of lieutenant general Harvey's regiment had formerly

mounted a regiment raised, and still commanded, by the duke of Ormond; on which occasion the duke had her majesty's order only, for as much money as would supply the charge of the horses, till the regiment was raised, which was soon after, and then it was put on the establishment as other regiments. But that which was to supply the earl of Rochfort's, had not a commission granted till the 29th of April, 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of August to that time (being above 5700l.) was taken under pretence of keeping the horses, buying new ones in the room of such as should be wanting or unserviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horses. As for the last use, those are always provided out of the funds for providing clothing, and the duke of Ormond did so: as for horses wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to provide them another way; and the keeping the horses did not amount to 700l. by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament: so there was at least 5000l. charged to the nation, more than the actual charge could amount to.

Mrs. Lloyd, at first coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of selling it for about 200l. but at last was told she must expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other servants, would deserve a consideration for their attendance. Accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night, and to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play; so that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to 1000l. of which a small share was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the rest made a perquisite to his excellency: for Mrs. Lloyd

Lloyd having a husband, and a bishoprick promised her, the other pretensions were cut off.

He met lieutenant general Langston in the court of requests, and presented a gentleman to him, saying, "This is a particular friend of mine; he tells "me he is a lieutenant in your regiment; I must "desire you will take the first opportunity to give "him a troop, and you will oblige me mightily." The lieutenant general answered, "He had served "very well, and had very good pretensions to a "troop, and that he would give him the first that "fell." With this the gentleman was mighty well satisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency said immediately, "I was "forced to speak for him, as a great many of his "friends have votes at elections; but d—n him, he "is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one May to the duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honest gentleman, and desired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promised him. So May withdrew. As soon as he was gone, his lordship immediately said to the duke: "That fellow is the greatest rogue in "Christendom."

Colonel Coward having received pay for some time in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other service to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretensions enough to rise, after he had sold the last employment he had, applied to his excellency, who represented him in such a light, that he got above 900l. as an arrear of halfpay, which he had no title to, and a pension of 10s. a day; but he reckoned this as much

much too little for his wants, as every body else did too much for his pretensions, gave in a second petition to the queen for a farther addition of 10s. a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report, by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be still farther rewarded.

He turned out the poor gatekeeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above sixty years old, without assigning any cause, and they are now starving.

As for the business of the arsenal, it was the product of chance, and never so much as thought of by the persons who of late have given so many good reasons for the building of it, till, upon inquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out so well, that there was a necessity of destroying sixty or seventy thousand pounds, otherwise his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom. Upon this occasion, many projects were proposed, all which at last gave way to the proposal of a worthy person, who had often persuaded the nation to do itself a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itself a little good; which was, that forty thousand arms should be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arsenals to be built for that purpose: this was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his usual sincerity, declared he would not consent to the giving of money for any other use: as every body thought by the words he spoke, though afterward he showed them that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his consent to the bill, but

used

used all the art and industry he was master of, to have it pass; though the money was applied in it to the building of one arsenal only, and ammunition and other stores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arsenal was conceived and afterward formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money without any farther charge to the publick, and appointed his second secretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaster, whose salary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too small a charge to put the publick to for nothing, he made an establishment for that work, consisting of one superintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overseers at seven pounds four shillings a week, and sixteen assistants at seven pounds four shillings a week, making in all seventeen pounds eight shillings a week: and these were, for the greatest part, persons who had no knowledge of such business; and their honesty was equal to their knowledge, as it has since appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out against them; insomuch that the work they have overseen, which, with their salaries, has cost near three thousand pounds, might have been done for less than eighteen hundred pounds, if it had been agreed for by the yard, which is the usual method, and was so proposed in the estimate: and this is all a certainty, because all that has been done, is only removing earth, which has been exactly computed

puted by the yard, and might have been so agreed for.

Philip Savage, esq., as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commissioners of the revenue for sealing writs in the queen's business, and showed them for it some sort of precedents; but they, not being well satisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commissioners (then in London,) to inquire the practice there. He sent them word upon inquiry, that fees were paid there upon the like cases; so they adjudged it for him, and constantly paid him fees. If therefore there was a fault, it must lie at their door, for he never offered to stop the business; yet his excellency knew so well how to choose an attorney and solicitor general, that when the case was referred to them, they gave it against the chancellor, and said he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, (being about two hundred pounds *per annum;)* but never found any fault in the commissioners, who adjudged the case for him, and might have refused him the money if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert Fitzgerald, father to the present earl of Kildare, had a grant from king Charles the Second, of the office of comptroller of the musters, during the lives of captain Chambre Brabazon, now earl of Meath, and George Fitzgerald elder brother to the present earl of Kildare; which the said Robert Fitzgerald enjoyed with a salary of three hundred pounds *per annum*; and after his death, his son George enjoyed it; till my lord Galway did, by threats, compel him to surrender the said patent for a pension of two hundred pounds *per annum*; which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago the

the present earl of Kildare, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himself to be injured by the surrender of the said patent, which should have come to him, the earl of Meath being still living: therefore, in order to right himself, did petition her majesty; which petition, as usual, was referred to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant, who being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on such occasions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant general Ingoldsby, the then lords justices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney general to inquire whether the earl of Kildare had any legal title to the said patent, which he, in a full report, said he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice treasurer to inquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was useful or necessary for her majesty's service. He gave in his report, and said he thought it both useful and necessary; and, with more honesty than wit, gave the following reasons: first, that the muster master general computed the pay of the whole military list, which is above 200000l. *per annum*; so having no check on him, might commit mistakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: and, secondly, because he had himself found out several of those mistakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords justices approved of these reasons, and so sent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office useful and necessary: but colonel P——r, the muster master general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant one thousand pounds for his consent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majesty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon

upon his office would be a troublesome spy upon him; so he pleaded the merit of his thousand pounds, and desired in consideration thereof that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and to strengthen his pretensions, put my lady in mind of what money he had lost to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful sense of benefits received, railed as much against the lords justices report, as ever she had done against the tories; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the same virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, because he comptrolled it himself; which (now having given his word for it) he will beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: although since, it has been plainly made appear, that for want of some control on that office, her majesty has been wronged of many hundred pounds by the roguery of a clerk, and that during the time of his excellency's government; of which there has been but a small part refunded, and the rest has not been inquired after, lest it should make it plainly appear that a comptroller in that office is absolutely necessary.

His excellency being desirous, for a private reason, to provide for the worthless son of a worthless father, who had lately sold his company, and of course all pretension to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: a captain in the oldest regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with service, desired leave to sell, which was granted him; and accordingly, for a consideration agreed upon, he gave a resignation of his company to a person approved of by the commander of the regiment, who at the same time applied to his excellency for leave for another captain

of

of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majesty's service in Spain, and absent by her majesty's license: his excellency, hearing that, said they might give him a company in Spain, for he would dispose of his here; and so, notwithstanding all the commanders of the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly surrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a disputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was surrendered.

Talking one morning, as he was dressing, (at least a dozen people present) of the debates in council about the affair of Trim, he said the lord chief justice Dolben* had laid down as law a thing for which a man ought to have his gown stripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and, in less than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expression again: yet, some days after, sent Dr. Lambert† to assure his lordship he said no such thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he used his utmost efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: so when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to say to them, particularly to lord chief justice Dolben, that perhaps some officious persons would spread stories that he had endeavoured to do some of them a prejudice in England, which he assured them he never had; but, on the contrary, would always, without distinction, show his regard according to merit; which the lord chief justice Broderick was pleased to approve of, by saying, "that was very honourable,

* Sir William Dolben, bart., lord chief justice of the common pleas, 1714—1720.

† His principal chaplain.

"that

" that was very gracious;" though he knew the contrary himself.

In England he bid Mr. Deering assure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body without distinction might depend on his favour, as they behaved themselves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleased, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and, as soon as his back was turned, he jeeringly said, " D—n me, how easily he is bit!"

When the duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderson Saunders the government of Wicklow castle, which has no salary, but a perquisite of some land worth about 12*l. per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the freeschool of the town; but his excellency, not liking either the person or the use, without any ceremonies, or reason given, superseded him, by giving a commission for it to Jennings the horsecourser, who lies under several odious and scandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly escaping the gallows for coining.

Some time after his excellency's landing the second time, he sent for Mr. Saunders among others, desiring their good offices in the ensuing session, and that Mr. Saunders would not take amiss his giving that place to Jennings, for he assured him he did not know it belonged to him; which is highly probable, because men of his knowledge usually give away things, without inquiring how they are in their disposal. Mr. Saunders answered, " He was " very glad to find what was done was not out of " any particular displeasure to him; because Mr. " Whitshed had said at Wicklow (by way of apology " for what his excellency had done) that it was occa-

" sioned

" sioned by Mr. Saunders's having it; and seeing " his excellency had no ill intention against him, " was glad he could tell his excellency it was not " legally given away (for he had a *custodiam* for " the land out of the court of exchequer); so his " excellency's commiſſion to Jennings could do him " no prejudice."

Lieutenant general Echlin had pay on this establishment as brigadier, till the middle of October, 1708, when he was removed from it by his excellency, because his regiment went away at that time, and lieutenant general Gorges was put in his room. Some time after, major general Rooke, considering the reason why Echlin was removed, concluded that Gorges could not come on till some time in February after, because his regiment also was out of the kingdom till that time; and that therefore he, being the eldest general officer that had no pay as such, was entitled to the brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was removed till Gorges was qualified to receive it, he having done the duty. His excellency, upon hearing the reason, owned it to be a very good one, and told him, if the money were not paid to Gorges, he should have it, so bid him go see; which he did, and found it was: then his excellency told him he would refer his case to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he said must needs be in his favour, and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet, when the general officers sat, he sent for several of them, and made them give the case against Rooke.

When the prosecution against the dissenting minister at Drogheda was depending, one Stevens, a lawyer in this town (Dublin) sent his excellency,

then in London, a petition, in the name of the said dissenting minister, in behalf of himself and others who lay under any such prosecution; and in about a fortnight's time his excellency sent over a letter, to the then lords justices, to give the attorney and solicitor general orders, to enter a *noli prosequi* to all such suits; which was done accordingly, though he never so much as inquired into the merits of the cause, or referred the petition to any body, which is a justice done to all men, let the case be ever so light. He said he had her majesty's orders for it: but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can descend to small gains, take this instance: there were 850l. ordered by her majesty, to buy new liveries for the state trumpets, messengers, *etc.* but with great industry he got them made cheaper by 200l. which he saved out of that sum; and it is reported, that his steward got a handsome consideration besides from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being so also to others, bought a lieutenant's commiſſion in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which service pleased his excellency so well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him keep both; but before his pleasure was known, the former was disposed of.

The lord lieutenant has no power to remove, or put in a solicitor general, without the queen's letter, it being one of those employments excepted out of his commission; yet, because sir Richard Levinge disobliged him by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. Forster * although

* Afterward recorder of the city of Dublin, and lord chief juſtice of the common pleas.

he

he had no queen's letter for so doing: only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle, that her majesty designed to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland have a great share of the administration; all things being carried by the consent of the majority, and they sign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency disliked so great a share of power in any but himself; and when matters were debated in council otherwise than he approved, he would stop them, and say, "Come, my lords, I see "how your opinions are, and therefore I will not "take your votes;" and so would put an end to the dispute.

One of his chief favourites was a scandalous clergyman, a constant companion of his pleasures, who appeared publickly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and sharer of all the lewd and blasphemous discourses of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency presented this worthy divine to one of the bishops, with the following recommendation: "My lord, Mr. —— is a very "honest fellow, and has no fault, but that he is a "little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been so infamous, that a bishop in England refused to admit him to a living he had been presented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the earl of Inchiquin to be one of the lords justices in his absence, and was much mortified when he found lieutenant general Ingoldsby appointed without any regard to his recommendation; particularly because the usual salary of a lord justice, in the lord lieutenant's ab-

sence, is 100*l.* *per* month, and he had bargained with the earl for 40*l.*

I will send you, in a packet or two, some particulars of his excellency's usage of the convocation; of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. Coningsby; an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magistrate in Trim; his selling the place of a privy counsellor and commissioner of the revenue to Mr. Conolly; his barbarous injustice to dean Jephson and poor Will Crow; his deciding a case at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in so scandalous and unfair a manner, that the arrantest sharper would be ashamed of; the common custom of playing on Sunday in my lady's closet; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyship and Mrs. Fl——d and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they used to go in a hackney-coach; and his excellency's making no scruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited; with some other passages which I hope, you will put into some method, and correct the style, and publish as speedily as you can.

Note, Mr. Savage, beside the prosecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament, in a case where his excellency's own friends were of the same opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency.

The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received. Whenever they come, I shall publish them in a second part.

SOME

# REMARKS

UPON

A PAMPHLET ENTITLED, A LETTER TO THE SEVEN LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE * APPOINTED TO EXAMINE GREGG †. BY THE AUTHOR OF THE EXAMINER.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1711.

THOSE who have given themselves the trouble to write against me, either in single papers or pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in discovering a violent rage, and at the same time affecting an air of contempt toward their adversary;

* The committee consisted of the dukes of Devonshire, Somerset, and Bolton; the earl of Wharton; lord viscount Townshend; lord Somers, and lord Halifax. Gregg was tried at the Old Bailey, Jan. 19, 1707-8, and condemned for high treason; but was not executed till April 28, 1708.

† "The Examiner has been down this month, and was very "silly the five or six last papers; but there is a pamphlet come out, "in answer to a letter to the seven lords who examined Gregg. "The answer is by the real author of the Examiner, as I believe, "for it is very well written." Journal to Stella, Aug. 24, 1711. Even to this lady, to whom he usually writes with unreserved confidence, Dr. Swift had not yet acknowledged himself to be the author of the Examiner.

which, in my humble opinion, are not very consistent: and therefore it is plain, that their fury is real and hearty, their contempt only personated. I have pretty well studied this matter, and would caution writers of their standard, never to engage in that difficult attempt of despising; which is a work to be done in cold blood, and only by a superiour genius, to one at some distance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very sincere contempt for many of those who have drawn their pens against me; yet I rather chose the cheap way of discovering it by silence and neglect, than be at the pains of new terms to express it: I have known a lady value herself upon a haughty disdainful look, which very few understood, and nobody alive regarded. Those commonplace terms of infamous scribbler, prostitute libeller, and the like, thrown abroad without propriety or provocation, do ill personate the true spirit of contempt, because they are such as the meanest writer, whenever he pleases, may use toward the best. I remember indeed a parish fool, who, with a great deal of deformity, carried the most disdainful look I ever observed in any countenance: and it was the most prominent part of his folly; but he was thoroughly in earnest, which these writers are not: for there is another thing I would observe, that my antagonists are most of them so, in a literal sense; breathe real vengeance, and extend their threats to my person, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are so far from despising, that I am sensible they do me too much honour. The author of the Letter to the Seven Lords, takes upon him the three characters of a despiser, a threatener, and a railer; and succeeds so well in the two last, that it has made him

him miscarry in the first. It is no unwise proceeding, which the writers of that side have taken up, to scatter their menaces in every paper they publish; it may perhaps look absurd, ridiculous, and impudent, in people at mercy to assume such a style; but the design is right, to endeavour persuading the world that it is they who are the injured party, that they are the sufferers, and have a right to be angry.

However, there is one point, wherein these gentlemen seem to stretch this wise expedient, a little farther than it will allow. I, who for several months undertook to examine into the late management of persons and things, was content sometimes to give only a few hints of certain matters, which I had charity enough to wish might be buried for ever in oblivion, if the confidence of these people had not forced them from me. One instance whereof, among many, is the business of Gregg, the subject of a letter I am now considering. If this piece has been written by direction, as I should be apt to suspect; yet, I am confident, they would not have us think so, because it is a sort of challenge, to let the world into the whole secret of Gregg's affair. But I suppose they are confident, it is what I am not master of, wherein it is odds but they may be mistaken; for I believe the memorials of that transaction are better preserved, than they seem to be aware of, as perhaps may one day appear.

This writer is offended, because I have said so many severe things with application to particular persons. The Medley has been often in the same story: if they condemn it as a crime in general, I shall not much object; at least I will allow it should be done with truth and caution: but, by what argu-

ment will they undertake to prove that it is pardonable on one side, and not on the other? Since the late change of ministry, I have observed many of that party take up a new style, and tell us, "That "this way of personal reflection ought not to be "endured; they could not approve of it; it was "against charity and good manners." When the whigs were in power, they took special care to keep their adversaries silent; then all kind of falsehood and scurrility was doing good service to the cause, and detecting evil principles. Now, that the face of things is changed, and we have liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down fire from Heaven upon us; though, by a sort of indulgence which they were strangers to, we allow them equal liberty of the press with ourselves; and they even now make greater use of it, against persons in the highest power and credit, than we do against those who have been discarded, for the most infamous abuse of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the Observator and Review, for many years together, in charging the whole body of the clergy with the most odious crimes and opinions; in declaring all who took oaths to the government, and called themselves tories, to be worse than papists and nonjurors; in exposing the universities, as seminaries of the most pernicious principles in church and state; in defending the rebellion, and the murder of king Charles I, which they asserted to be altogether as justifiable as the late revolution? Is there a great man now in power, or in any credit with the queen, whom those worthy undertakers have not treated, by name, in the most ignominious manner? Even since this great change

of

of affairs, with what amazing licentiousness has the writer of the Medley attacked every person of the present ministry, the speaker of the house of commons, and the whole senate! He has turned into ridicule the results of the council and the parliament, as well as the just and generous endeavours of the latter, to pay the debts, and restore the credit of the nation, almost ruined by the corruption and management of his own party.

And are these the people who complain of personal reflections; who so confidently invoke the men in power (whom they have so highly obliged) to punish or silence me for reflecting on their exploded heroes? Is there no difference between men chosen by the prince, reverenced by the people for their virtue, and others rejected by both for the highest demerits? Shall the Medley and his brothers fly out with impunity against those who preside at the helm? and am I to be torn in pieces, because I censure others, who, for endeavouring to split the vessel against a rock, are put under the hatches?

I now proceed to the pamphlet which I intend to consider. It is a letter written to seven great men, who were appointed to examine Gregg in Newgate. The writer tells their lordships, that the Examiner has charged them with endeavouring, by bribery and subornation of that criminal, to take away Mr. Harley's life. If there be any thing among the papers I have writ, which may be applied to these persons, it would have become this author to have cleared them fully from the accusation, and then he might at leisure have fallen upon me as a liar and misrepresenter; but of that he has not offered a syllable:

syllable: the weight of his charge lies here; that such an author as the Examiner, should presume, by certain innuendoes, to accuse any great persons of such a crime. My business, in those papers, was to represent facts; and I was as sparing as possible of reflecting upon particular persons: but the mischief is, that the readers have always found names to tally with those facts; and I know no remedy for this. As for instance, in the case here before us. An under clerk in the secretary's office, of fifty pounds a year, is discovered to hold correspondence with France, and apprehended by his master's order, before he could have opportunity to make his escape by the private warning of a certain person, a professed enemy to the secretary. The criminal is condemned to die. It is found, upon his trial, that he was a poor profligate fellow: the secretary, at that time, was under the mortal hatred of a violent prevailing party, who dreaded him for his great abilities, and his avowed design to break their destructive measures.

It was very well known, that a secretary of state has little or no intercourse with the lower clerks, but with the under secretaries, who are the more immediate masters of those clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, gentlemen of worth: however, it would pass well enough in the world, that Gregg was employed in Mr. secretary Harley's office, and was consequently one of his clerks, which would be ground enough to build upon it what suggestions they pleased. Then for the criminal, he was needy and vicious: he owed his death to the secretary's watchful pursuit of him, and would therefore

therefore probably incline to hearken to any offers that would save his life, gratify his revenge, and make him easy in his fortune: so that, if a work of darkness were to be done, it must be confessed, here were proper motives, and a proper instrument. But ought we to suspect any persons of such a diabolical practice? can all faith and honour and justice be thus violated by men? questions proper for a pulpit, or well becoming a philosopher: but what if it were *regnandi causa*, and that perhaps in a literal sense? Is this an age of the world to think crimes improbable because they are great? Perhaps it is; but what shall we say to some of those circumstances which attended this fact? who gave rise to this report against Mr. Harley? will any of his enemies confess, in cold blood, that they did either believe, suspect, or imagine, the secretary, and one of his under clerks, to be joined in corresponding with France? Some of them, I should think, knew better what belonged to such a correspondence, and how it ought to be managed. The nature of Gregg's crime was such, as to be best performed without any accomplices at all; it was, to be a spy here for the French, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears, by his letters, that he never had it in his power to let them into any thing of importance. The copy of the queen's letter to the emperor, which he sent to the enemy, and has made such a noise, was only to desire that prince Eugene might be employed to command in Spain; which, for six weeks before, had been mentioned in all the Gazettes of Europe. It was evident, from the matter of his letters, that no man of consequence could have any share in them. The whole affair had been examined in the cabinet two

months

months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the person of Gregg, who, to supply his vices and his wants, was tempted to engage in that correspondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that examination should be resumed, after such a distance of time, with any fair or honourable intention. Why were not Gregg's examinations published, which were signed by his own hand, and had been taken in the cabinet two months before the committee of the house was appointed to reexamine him? why was he pressed so close, to cry out with horrour, "Good God! would you have me accuse "Mr. Harley, when he is wholly innocent?" why were all the answers returned to the queries sent him, immediately burned? I cannot, in my conscience, but think that the party was bound in honour to procure Gregg a pardon, which was openly promised him, upon condition of making an ingenuous confession, unless they had some other notions of what is ingenuous, than is commonly meant by that word. A confession may be nevertheless ingenuous, for not answering the hopes or designs of those who take it: but, though the word was publickly used, the definition of it was reserved to private interpretation, and by a capricious humour of fortune, a most flagitious, though repenting villain, was hanged for his virtue. It could not indeed consist with any kind of prudence then in fashion, to spare his life; and thereby leave it in his power, at any time, to detect their practices, which he might afterward do at any time, with so much honour to himself.

But I have the luck to be accused by this author in very good company; the two houses of parliament in general, and the speaker of the house of commons

commons in particular; whom he taxes with falsehood and absurdity, as well as myself, though in a more respectful manner, and by a sort of irony. The whole kingdom had given the same interpretation that I had done, to some certain passages in the address from both houses, upon the attempt of Guiscard; friends and enemies agreed in applying the word faction. But the speaker is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another place) of some unparallelled attempts, and uses other terms that come pretty home to the point. As to what the parliament affirms, this author makes it first as absurd and impracticable as he can; and then pretends to yield, as pressed by so great an authority; and explains their meaning into nonsense, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his party. Then for the speaker, this writer says, he is but a single man; and, because his speech was in words too direct to avoid*, he advises him to save his honour and virtue, by owning a solecism in speech; and to write less correctly, rather than mean maliciously. What an expedient this advocate has found to remove the load of an accusation! He answers, "The crime is horrible; that great men ought not to be thus insolently charged." I reply, "That the parliament and speaker appear, in many points, to be of the same opinion."—He rejoins, "That he is pressed by too great an authority; that perhaps those wise assemblies, and that honourable gentleman (who besides is but a single man) may probably speak nonsense; they must either deliver a solecism, or

* This word is improperly used here, both in point of sense and grammar. It should be—too direct *to be evaded*.

"be

" be malicious; and, in good manners, he rather " thinks it may be the former."

The writer of the letter, having thus dispatched the Examiner, falls next upon a paper called Secret Transactions, &c. written, as he tells us, by one Francis Hoffman, and the ordinary of Newgate, persons whom I have not the honour to be known to, (whatever my betters may be) nor have yet seen their productions: but, by what is cited from them in the letter, it should seem, they have made some untoward observations; however, the same answer still serves: not a word to control what they say; only they are a couple of daring, insolent wretches, to reflect upon the greatest and best men in England; and there is an end. I have no sort of regard for that same Hoffman, to whose character I am a perfect stranger; but methinks the ordinary of Newgate should be treated with more respect, considering what company he has kept, and what visitors he may have had. However, I shall not enter into a point of controversy, whether the lords were acquainted with the ordinary, or the ordinary with the lords, since this author leaves it undecided. Only one thing I take to be a little hard. It is now confessed on all hands, that Mr. Harley was most unjustly suspected of joining with an under clerk, in corresponding with France: the suspicion being in itself unreasonable, and without the least probable grounds, wise men began to consider what violent enemies that gentleman had: they found the report most industriously spread; the whigs in common discourse, discovering their wishes, that he might be found guilty: the management of the whole affair was put into the hands of such as, it is supposed,

posed, would at least not be sorry to find more than they expected. The criminal's dying speech is unfortunately published, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted to save his life by falsely accusing his master; with more to the same purpose: from all this put together, it was no very unnatural conjecture, that there might have been some tampering. Now, I say, it is a little hard, that Mr. Harley's friends must not be allowed to have their suspicions, as well as his enemies: and this author, if he intended to deal fairly, should have spent one paragraph in railing at those who had the impudence and villany to suspect Mr. Harley, and then proceeded in due method to defend his committee of examiners: but that gentleman being, as this author says of the speaker, but a single man, I suppose his reputation and life were esteemed but of little consequence.

There is one state of the case in this letter, which I cannot well omit, because the author, I suppose, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully severe upon Mr. Harley, without exposing the writer to any danger. I say this to gratify him, to let him know I take his meaning, and discover his inclinations. His parallel case is this: "Supposing Guiscard had been intimate with some great officer of "state, and had been suspected to communicate his "most secret affairs with that minister; then he "asks, 'Whether it would have been subornation, "or seeking the life and blood of that officer, in "these great lords of the council, if they had narrowly examined this affair, inquired with all exactness what he knew of this great officer, what "secrets he had imparted to him, and whether he

"were

" were privy to his corresponding?" &c. In this parallel, Guiscard's case is supposed to be the same with Gregg's: and that of the great officer, with Mr. Harley's. So that here he lays down as a thing granted, that Gregg was intimate with Mr. Harley, and suspected to communicate his most secret affairs to him. Now did ever any rational man suspect, that Mr. Harley, first principal secretary of state, was intimate with an under clerk, or upon the foot of having most secret affairs communicated to him from such a counsellor, from one in so inferiour a station, whom perhaps he hardly knew by sight? why was that report raised, but for the uses which were afterward made of it? or, why should we wonder that they, who were so wicked as to be authors of it, would be scrupulous in applying it to the only purpose for which it could be raised?

Having thus considered the main design of this letter, I shall make a few remarks upon some particular passages in it.

First, Though it be of no consequence to this dispute, I cannot but observe a most evident falsehood, which he repeats three or four times in his letter, that I make the world believe I am set on work by great people. I remember myself to have several times affirmed the direct contrary, and so I do still; and if I durst tell him my name, which he is so desirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a temper to think no man great enough to set me on work; nay, I am content to own all the scurrilous titles he gives me, if he be able to find one innuendo through all those papers that can any way favour this calumny: the malice of which is not intended against me, but the present ministry; to make

make the world believe, that what I have published is the utmost effort of all they can say or think against the last: whereas it is nothing more than the common observations of a private man, deducing consequences and effects from very natural and visible causes.

He tells us, with great propriety of speech, that the seven lords and their friends, are treated as subverters of the constitution, and such as have been long endeavouring to destroy both church and state. This puts me in mind of one, who first murdered a man, and afterward endeavoured to kill him: and therefore I here solemnly deny them to have been subverters of the constitution; but that some people did their best endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells me particularly, that I acquit Guiscard, by a blunder, of a design against Mr. Harley's life. I declare he injures me; for I look upon Guiscard to be full as guilty of the design, as even those were who tampered with the business of Gregg; and both (to avoid all cavilling) as guilty as ever any man was that suffered death by law.

He calls the stabbing of Mr. Harley, a sore blow; but I suppose he means his recovery: that indeed was a sore blow to the interests of his party: but I take the business of Gregg to have been a much sorer blow to their reputation.

This writer wonders how I should know their lordship's hearts, because he hardly knows his own. I do not well see the consequence of this: perhaps he never examines into his own heart, perhaps it keeps no correspondence with his tongue or his pen: I hope, at least, it is a stranger to those foul terms he has strewed throughout his letter; otherwise I fear I

know it too well: for out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh. But, however, actions are pretty good discoverers of the heart, though words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take away my life, if he has still the same, or rather much greater cause, whether it be a just one or not, and has never shown the least sign of remorse; I may venture, without being a conjurer, to know so much of his heart, as to believe he would repeat his attempt, if it were in his power. I must needs quote some following lines in the same page, which are of an extraordinary kind, and seem to describe the blessed age we should live in, under the return of the late administration. "It is very well (says he) "that people's heads are to stand on their shoul- "ders as long as the laws will let them; if it de- "pended upon any thing besides, it may be your "lordships seven heads might be as soon cut off, "as that one gentleman's, were you in power." Then he concludes the paragraph with this charitable prayer, in the true moderation style, and in Italick letter: "May the head that has done the "kingdom the greatest mischief, fall first, let it be "whose it will!" The plain meaning of which is this: If the late ministry were in power, they would act just as the present ministry would if there were no law, which perhaps may be true: but I know not any ministry upon earth that I durst confide in, without law; and if, at their coming in again, they design to make their power the law, they may as easily cut off seven heads as one. As for the head that has done the greatest mischief to the kingdom, I cannot consent it should fall, till he and I have settled the meaning of the word mischief. Neither do I much approve

approve this renewing an old fashion of whipping off heads by a prayer; it began from what some of us think an ill precedent. Then that unlimited clause, let it be whose it will, perplexes me not a little: I wish in compliance with an old form, he had excepted my lord mayor: otherwise, if it were to be determined by their vote, whose head it was that had done the greatest mischief; which way can we tell how far their predecessors principles may have influenced them? God preserve the queen and her ministers from such undistinguishing disposers of heads!

His remarks upon what the ordinary told Hoffman, are singular enough. The ordinary's words are, "That so many endeavours were used to corrupt "Gregg's conscience, &c. that he felt as much un-"easiness lest Gregg should betray his master, as if "it had been his own case." The author of the letter says to this, "That, for aught the ordinary "knew, he might confess what was exactly true of "his master; and that therefore an indifferent per-"son might as well be uneasy, for fear Gregg "should discover something of his master, that "would touch his life, and* yet might have been "true." But, if these were really the ordinary's thoughts at that time, they were honest and reasonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a person of Mr. Harley's character and station, should make use of such a confederate in treason: if he had suspected his loyalty, he could not have suspected his understanding. And knowing how much Mr. Harley was feared and hated by the men in power,

* It ought to be—'*which* yet might have been true.'

and observing that resort to Gregg at unseasonable hours, and that strange promises were often made him by men of note; all this put together, might naturally incline the ordinary to think, the design could be nothing else, but that Mr. Harley should be accused in spite of his innocence.

This charge of subornation is, it seems, so extraordinary a crime, that the author challenges all the books in the new lord's library (because he hears it is the largest) to furnish us with an instance like it. What if this charge should be true? Then I, in my turn, would challenge all the books in another lord's library, which is ten times larger (though perhaps not so often disturbed) to furnish us with an instance like this. If it be so monstrous a thing to accuse others of subornation, what epithet is left to bestow upon those who were really guilty of the crime itself? I think it beyond controversy, that subornation was practised in the business of Gregg. This manifestly appears from those few facts I have mentioned: let the whigs agree among them where to fix it. Nay, it is plain, by the great endeavours made to stifle his last speech, that they would have suborned the poor man even after he was dead: and is this a matter now to be called in question, much less to be denied?

He compares the examination of Guiscard with that of Gregg; talks of several great persons who examined the former in prison, and promised him the queen's pardon, if he would make a full discovery. Then the author puts the case, "How wicked "it would be to charge these honourable counsellors "with suborning Guiscard by promises of life, &c. "to accuse the innocent, and betray his friend!" Does

Does it any where appear, that those noble persons who examined Guiscard, put leading questions to him, or pointed out where they would have him fix an accusation? did they name some mortal enemy of their own, and then drop words of pardon and reward, if he would accuse him? did Guiscard leave any paper behind him, to justify the innocence of some great person whom he was tempted to accuse? Yet perhaps I could think of certain people, who were much more likely to act in concert with Guiscard, than ever Mr. Harley was to be confederate with Gregg. I can imagine several who wished the penknife in Mr. Harley's heart, though Guiscard alone was desperate enough to attempt it. Who were those, that by their discourses, as well as countenances, discovered their joy when the blow was struck? who were those, that went out, or stood silent, when the address and congratulation were voted? and who were those that refined so far, as to make Mr. Harley confederate with his own assassin?

There is one point, which this author affirms more than once or twice in a transient way, as if he would have us suppose it a thing granted; but is of such a weight, that it wants nothing but truth to make the late change of ministry a very useless and dangerous proceeding: for, so it must be allowed, if, as he affirms, "Affairs are still under the like management, "and must be so, because there is no better; that "this set of men must take the same courses in their "ministration, with their predecessors, or ten times "worse; that the new servants go on in the old me-"thods, and give the same counsel and advice, on

" the like occasions, with the old ones :" with more to the same purpose. A man may affirm, without being of the cabinet, that every syllable of this is absolutely false; unless he means that money is still raised by parliament, and borrowed upon new funds; that the duke of Marlborough still commands the army; that we have a treasurer, keeper, president, and secretaries, as we had before; and that because the council meets much about the same times and places as formerly, therefore they give the same advice, and pursue the same measures. What does he think of finding funds to pay the old unprovided for debt of the navy, and erecting a company for the South Sea trade? what does he think of Mr. Hill's expedition, to preserve our trade in the West Indies? what, of the methods taken to make our allies pay their quotas to the war, which was a thing so scandalously either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? what, of the care to retrench the exorbitant expenses of the Spanish war? what, of those many abuses and corruptions at home, which have been so narrowly inquired into, and in a good part redressed? Evils, so deeply radicated, must require some time to remedy them, and cannot be all set right in a few months. Besides, there are some circumstances known by the names of honour, probity, good sense, great capacity for business; as likewise, certain principles of religion and loyalty, the want, or possession of all which, will make a mighty difference even in the pursuit of the same measures. There is also one characteristick, which will ever distinguish the late ministry from the present; That the former, sacrificing

ing all other regards, to the increase of their wealth and power, found those were no* otherwise to be preserved, but by continuance of the war; whereas the interests, as well as inclinations of the present, dispose them to make use of the first opportunities, for a safe and honourable peace.

The writer goes on upon another parallel case, which is the modern way of reflecting upon a prince and ministry. He tells us, "That the queen was "brought to discard her old officers, through the "multitude of complaints, secret teasings, and im- "portunate clamours, of a rout of people, led by "their priests, and spirited underhand by crafty "emissaries." Would not any one who reads this, imagine, that the whole rabble, with the clergy at their head, were whispering in the queen's ear, or came in disguise to desire a word with her majesty, like the army of the two kings of Brentford? The unbiassed majority of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, are called, by this son of obscurity, a rout of people, and the clergy their leaders. We have often accused that party for their evil talent of railing perpetually against the clergy, which they discovered at first without any visible reason or provocation, as conscious of the designs they had in view, and therefore wisely began by vilifying those whom they intended to destroy. I have observed formerly, that the party malice against the clergy has been so blind and furious, as to charge them with crimes wholly inconsistent. I find they

* This is ungrammatical. *No*, is here an adjective, and cannot, with propriety, be connected with the adverb, *otherwise*—It should be—'*not* otherwise'—or—'by *no other means*' &c.

are still in the same disposition, and that this writer has received direction from his superiors, to pursue the old style upon that article. Accordingly, in the paragraph I am now upon, he represents that reverend body as leaders, cullies, and tools. First, he says, "That rout of secret teasers (meaning the "nobility and gentry of the kingdom) were led by "the priests." Then he assures us, "That the queen "will, in a year or two, begin to consider, who it "was that cheated those poor priests." And in case her majesty should have a mind to bring in the old ministry again, he comforts his party, "That "the priests are seldom wanting, to become the tools "of cunning managers." I desire to know in what sense he would have us to understand, that these poor priests have been cheated. Are they cheated by a fund established for building fifty churches? or the queen's letter empowering them to proceed on the business proper for a convocation? what one single advantage could they possibly lose by this change? They are still indeed abused every day in print, but it is by those who are without the power to hurt them; the serpent has lost his sting, is trodden under foot, and its hissing is contemned. But he confidently affirms, "That, when it shall "be thought fit to restore the old ministry, the "priests will not be wanting, to become the tools "of their cunning managers." This I cannot by any means allow, unless they have some hidden reserve of cunning, which has never yet been produced. The cunningest managers I ever knew among them, are, of all others, most detested by the clergy: neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them tools, except by

by making them bishops; even those few they were able to seduce, would not be their tools at a lower rate.

But, because this author, and others of his standard, affect to make use of that word tool, when they have a mind to be shrewd and satirical; I desire once for all to set them right. A tool and an instrument, in the metaphorical sense, differ thus: the former, is an engine in the hands of knaves; the latter, in those of wise and honest men. The greatest ministers are instruments in the hands of princes, and so are princes themselves in the hands of God; and in this sense, the clergy are ready to be instruments of any good to the prince or people. But that the clergy of England, since the reformation, have at any time been the tools of a party, is a calumny which history and constant experience will immediately confute. Schismatick and fanatick preachers have indeed been perpetually employed that way, with good success; by the faction against king Charles I, to murder their prince, and ruin the monarchy; by king James II, to bring in popery: and ever since the revolution, to advance the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth, among a set of profligate upstarts. But in all these three instances, the established clergy (except a very few, like tares among wheat, and those generally sown by the enemy) were so far from being tools, that in the first, they were persecuted, imprisoned and deprived; and in the two others, they were great instruments, under God, for preserving our religion and liberty.

In the same paragraph, which contains a project for turning out the present ministry, and restoring the last; he owns, that the queen is now served with

with more obsequious words, more humble adorations, and a more seeming resignation to her will and pleasure, than she was before. And indeed, if this be not true, her majesty has the worst luck of any prince in Christendom. The reverse of these phrases I take to be rude expressions, insolent behaviour, and a real opposition to her majesty's most just and reasonable commands, which are the mildest terms that the demeanour of some late persons toward their prince, can deserve, in return of the highest favours that subjects ever received, whereof a hundred particulars might be produced. So that, according to our author's way of reasoning, I will put a parallel case in my turn. I have a servant to whom I am exceedingly kind; I reward him infinitely above his merit: beside which, he and his family snap every thing they can lay their hands on; they will let none come near me, but themselves and dependants; they misrepresent my best friends, as my greatest enemies; besides, they are so saucy and malapert, there is no speaking to them; so far from any respect, that they treat me as an inferiour. At last I pluck up spirit, turn them all out of doors, and take in new ones; who are content with what I allow them, though I have less to spare than formerly; give me their best advice when I ask it, are constantly in the way, do what I bid them, make a bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a respectful answer. I suppose the writer of the letter would tell me, that my present domesticks were indeed a little more civil, but the former were better servants.

There are two things wherewith this author is peculiarly angry: first, at the licentious way of the scum

scum of mankind treating the greatest peers in the nation: secondly, that these hedge-writers (a phrase I unwillingly lend him, because it cost me some pains to invent) seldom speak a word against any of the late ministry, but they presently fall to compliment my lord treasurer, and others in great places. On the first, he brings but one instance: but I could produce a good many hundred. What does he think of the Observator, the Review, and the Medley? in his own impartial judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the scum of mankind, as the Examiner? and have they not treated at least as many, and almost as great peers, in as infamous a manner? I grant indeed, that through the great defect of truth, genius, learning, and common sense, among the libellers of that party, they being of no entertainment to the world, after serving the present turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in gross, that there was not a great man in England, distinguished for his love to the monarchy or the church, who, under the appellations of tory, jacobite, high-flier, and other cant words, was not represented as a publick enemy, and loaden by name with all manner of obloquy. Nay, have they not even disturbed the ashes, and endeavoured to blast the memories of the dead, and chiefly of those who lost their lives in the service of the monarchy and the church? His other quarrel is at our flattering my lord treasurer, and other great persons in power. To which I shall only say, for every line written in praise of the present ministry, I will engage to furnish the author with three pages of the most fulsome panegyricks on the least deserving members of the last; which is somewhat more than

than by the proportion of time, while they were in power, could fall to their share. Indeed, I am apt to think, that the men of wit at least, will be more sparing in their incense of this kind for the future, and say no more of any great man, now at the helm, than they believe he deserves. Poems, dedications, and other publick encomiums, might be of use to those who were obliged to keep up an unnatural spirit in the nation, by supplying it with art; and consequently the authors deserved, and sometimes met, encouragement and reward. But those great patriots now at the head of affairs, are sufficiently supported by the uncompelled favour of the queen, and the natural disposition of the people. We can do them no service by our applauses, and therefore expect no payment: so that I look upon this kind of stock to have fallen at least ninety per cent since the great changes at court.

He puts a few questions, which I am in some pain to answer. "Cannot," says he, "the succes-"sors be excellent men, unless the predecessors "be villains? cannot the queen change her mi-"nisters, but they must presently be such as neither "God nor man can endure? do noblemen fall "from all honour, virtue, and religion, because "they are so unhappy as to fall from their prince's "favour?" I desire to say something, in the first place, to this last question; which I answer in the negative. However, he will own, that "men "should fall from their prince's favour, when "they are so unhappy as to fall from all honour, "virtue, and religion;" though I must confess my belief at the same time, that some certain persons have lately fallen from favour, who could not,

not, for a very manifest reason, be said, properly speaking, to fall from any of the other three. To his other questions I can only say, that the constant language of the whig pamphleteers has been, this twelvemonth past, to tell us, how dangerous a step it was to change the ministry at so nice a juncture; to shake our credit, disoblige our allies, and encourage the French. Then this author tells us, that those discarded politicians were the greatest ministers we ever had: his brethren have said the same thing a hundred times. On the other side, the queen, upon long deliberation, was resolved to part with them: the universal voice of the people was against them: her majesty is the most mild and gracious prince that ever reigned: we have been constantly victorious, and are ruined; the enemy flourishes under his perpetual losses. If these be the consequences of an able, faithful, diligent, and dutiful administration; of that astonishing success, he says, Providence has crowned us with; what can be those of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide field at present, I faithfully promise the author of the letter, his correspondents, his patrons, and his brethren, that this mystery of iniquity shall be very shortly laid open to the view of the world: when the most ignorant and prejudiced reader will, I hope, be convinced, by facts not to be controlled, how miserably this poor kingdom had been deluded to the very brink of destruction.

He would have it, that the people of England have lost their senses; are bewitched and cheated, mad and without understanding: but that all this will go off by degrees, and then his great men will

recover

recover their esteem and credit. I did, in one of my papers, overthrow this idle affected opinion, which has been a thousand times urged by those who most wished, and least believed it: I there showed the difference between a short madness of the people and their natural bent or genius. I remember, when king James II went from England, he left a paper behind him, with expressions much to the same purpose; hoping, among other things, that God would open the eyes of the nation. Too much zeal for his religion brought us then in danger of popery and arbitrary power; too much infidelity, avarice, and ambition, brought us lately into equal danger of atheism and anarchy. The people have not yet opened their eyes, to see any advantage in the two former; nor, I hope, will ever find their senses enough to discover the blessings of the two latter. Cannot I see things in another light than this author and his party do, without being blind? is my understanding lost when it differs from theirs? am I cheated, bewitched, and out of my senses, because I think those to have been betrayers of our country, whom they call patriots?

He hopes his seven correspondents will never want their places; but is in pain for the poor kingdom, lest their places should want them. Now I have examined this matter, and am not at all discouraged. Two of them hold their places still, and are likely to continue in them; two more were governors of islands: I believe the author does not imagine those to be among the places which will want men to fill them. God be thanked, a man may command the beefeaters without being a soldier; I will at any time undertake to do it myself. Then it would be a little hard,

hard, if the queen should be at a loss for a steward to her family. So that, upon the whole, I see but one great employment which is in any danger of wanting a sufficient person to execute it. We must do as well as we can: yet I have been told, that the bare business of presiding in council does not require such very transcendent abilities; and I am mistaken, if, till within these late years, we have not been some ages without that office. So that I hope things may go well enough, provided the keeper, treasurer, and both the secretaries, will do their duties; and it is happy for the nation, that none of their seven lordships left any of those places to want them.

The writer of the letter concludes it with "an "appeal to all the princes and states of Europe, "friends and enemies, by name, to give their judg- "ment, whether they think the late ministry were "wanting in faithfulness, abilities, or diligence, to "serve their prince and country?" Now, if he speaks by order of his party, I am humbly of opinion, they have incurred a *præmunire*, for appealing to a foreign jurisdiction; and her majesty may seize their goods and chattels whenever she pleases. In the mean time, I will not accept his appeal, which has been rejected by the queen and both houses of parliament. But, let a fair jury be empannelled in any county of England, and I will be determined by their verdict. First, he names the king of France and all h counsellors, with the pretender and all his favourers and abettors. These I except against: I know they will readily judge the late ministry to be faithful, able, and diligent, in serving their prince and country. The counsels of some people have, in their way, served very much to promote the service of

of the pretender, and to enable the French king to assist him; and is not he, in that monarch's opinion as well as his own, their lawful prince? I except against the emperor and the states; because it can be proved upon them, that the plaintiffs and they have an understanding together. I except against any prince who makes unreasonable demands, and threatens to recall his troops if they be not complied with; because they have been forced of late to change their language, and may perhaps be shortly obliged to observe their articles more strictly. I should be sorry, for the appealers sakes, to have their case referred to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their insolence to their sovereign. But, above all, the king of Spain would certainly be against them, when he considers with how scandalous a neglect his interests have been managed; and that the full possession of his kingdom was made a sacrifice to those, whose private or party interest swayed them to the continuance of the war. The author had reason to omit the grand seignior and czar in the list of his judges: The decrees of those princes are too sudden and sanguinary; and their lessons to instruct subjects in behaviour to their princes, by strangling them with a bowstring, or flinging them to be devoured alive by hogs, were enough to deter them from submitting to their jurisdiction.

A NEW

# JOURNEY TO PARIS;

TOGETHER WITH SOME

## SECRET TRANSACTIONS

BETWEEN

## THE FRENCH KING

AND

## AN ENGLISH GENTLEMAN,

BY THE SIEUR DU BAUDRIER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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" I had rather be thought a good Englishman, than the best Poet,
" or the greatest Scholar, that ever wrote."

PRIOR, Preface to " SOLOMON."

" I have just thought of a project to bite the town. I have told " you, that it is now known that Mr. Prior has been lately in " France. I will make a printer of my own sit by me one day; and " I will dictate to him a formal relation of Prior's journey, with " several particulars, all pure invention; and I doubt not but it " will take." Journal to Stella, Aug. 31, 1711.

" This morning the printer sent me an account of Prior's journey; " it makes a twopenny pamphlet: I suppose you will see it, for I " dare say it will run. It is a formal grave lie, from the begin- " ning to the end. I wrote all but the laft page; that I dic- " tated, and the printer wrote. Mr. Secretary sent to me, to dine " where he did: it was at Prior's. When I came in, Prior showed " me the pamphlet, seemed to be angry, and said, " Here is our " English Liberty!' I read some of it; said, 'I liked it mightily, " and envied the rogue the thought; for, had it come into my head, " I should have certainly done it myself."—Ibid. Sept. 11.

" The printer told me he sold yesterday a thousand of Prior's " Journey, and had printed five hundred more. It will do rarely, " I believe, and is a pure bite."—Ibid. Sept. 12.

" Prior's Journey sells still; they have sold two thousand, " although the town is empty."—Ibid. Sept. 24.

" There came out some time ago an account of Mr. Prior's jour- " ney to France, pretended to be a translation; it is a pure inven- " tion from the beginning to the end. I will let your Grace into " the secret of it. The clamours of a party against any peace with- " out Spain, and railing at the Ministry as if they designed to ruin " us, occafioned that production, out of indignity and contempt, " by way of furnishing fools with something to talk of; and it " has had a very great effect." Letter to Abp. King, Oct. 1, 1711.

# THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THE original of the following discourse was transmitted to me three days ago from the Hague, to which town it was sent from France; but in the titlepage there was no mention of the place where it was printed, only the author's name at length, and the year of our Lord. That the tract is genuine, I believe no person will doubt. You see all along the vanity of that nation, in a mean man giving himself the airs of a secretary, when it appears, by several circumstances, that he was received only as a menial servant. It were to be wished, the author had been one of more importance, and farther trusted in the secrets of his master's negotiation; but, to make amends, he informs us of several particulars, which one of more consequence would not have given himself the trouble about: and the particulars are such, as we at home will perhaps be curious to know; not to mention that he gives us much light into some things that are of great moment; and by his not pretending to know more, we cannot doubt the truth of what he relates.

It is plain, he waited at table, carried his master's *valise*, and attended in his bedchamber; though he takes care to tell us, that monsieur Prior made many excuses and apologies, because these mean offices appear very inconsistent with the character of secretary, which he would seem to set up for.

I shall make no reflections on this important affair, nor upon the consequences we may expect from it. To reason upon secrets of state, without knowing all the springs and motions of them, is too common a talent among us, and the foundation of a thousand errours. Here is room enough for speculations; but I advise the reader to let them serve for his own entertainment, without troubling the world with his remarks.

TO

# MONSIEUR MONSIEUR,

AT

# ESTAPLE*.

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SIR,

I DOUBT not but you are curious, as many others are, to know the secret of monsieur Prior an English gentleman's late journey from London to Paris. Perhaps living retired as you do, you may not have heard of this person, though some years ago he was very much distinguished at Paris, and in good esteem even with our august monarch. I must let you so far into his character, as to tell you, that monsieur Prior has signalized himself, both as an eminent poet, and man of business; was very much valued by the late king William, who employed him in important affairs, both in England and Holland. He was secretary to the English embassy, at the treaty of Ryswick; and afterward, to my lords the counts of Portland and Jersey; and in the absence of the latter, managed for some time the affairs of England at our court by himself. Since the reign of queen Anne, he was employed as

* A sea port town in the Boulonnois.

commissioner of trade; but the ministry changing soon after queen Anne's coming to the crown, monsieur Prior, who was thought too much attached to the rigides*, was laid aside; and lived privately at Cambridge†, where he is a professor, till he was recalled by the present ministry.

About two months ago, our king‡, resolving once more to give peace to Europe, notwithstanding the flourishing condition of his fleets and armies, the good posture of his finances, that his grandson was almost entirely settled in the quiet possession of Spain, and that the affairs of the north were changing every day to his advantage; offered the court of England to send a minister as far as Boulogne, who should be there met by some person from England, to treat the overtures of a peace. Upon the first notice that this was agreed to, the king immediately dispatched monsieur de Torcy, in whom he very much confides, to Boulogne, where he took lodging at a private house in the Fauxbourg, at one Mr. de Marais, a marchand de soy, who is married to an English woman, that formerly had been a *suivante* to one § of the forementioned English ambassadors ladies, over against the hostellerie de St. Jean. Monsieur stayed six days with much impatience; when, late at evening, on Wednesday the 14th of July (new style), a person, whom we afterward knew to be monsieur Prior, came directly to the door, and

* Tories.

† A mistake of the author; for monsieur Prior did not retire to Cambridge, nor is a professor, but a fellow. SWIFT.

‡ Lewis XIV. The author, it should be remembered, is writing in the character of a Frenchman.

§ Probably the countess of Jersey, who was a roman catholick.

inquired

inquired for monsieur de la Bastide, the name and place, I suppose, having been before concerted. He was immediately shown unto monsieur Torcy; where, as I am informed, they were shut up for three hours together, without any refreshment, though monsieur Prior had rid post from Calais that day in a great deal of rain. The next morning I was sent for, in all haste, by monsieur de Marais, who told me, "that a person of quality, as he suspected, "lately come from England, had some occasion for "a secretary; and, because he knew I understood "the languages, wrote a tolerable hand, had been "conversant with persons of quality, and formerly "trusted with secrets of importance, had been so "kind to recommend me to the said gentleman, to "serve him in that quality." I was immediately called up, and presented to Mr. Prior; who accosted me with great civility, and, after some conversation, was pleased to tell me, "I had fully an-"swered the character monsieur de Marais had "given me." From this time, to the day monsieur Prior left Calais in order to return to England, I may pretend to give you a faithful account of all his motions, and some probable conjectures of his whole negotiation between Boulogne and Versailles.

But perhaps, sir, you may be farther curious to know the particulars of monsieur Prior's journey to Boulogne. It is reported, that some time before the peace of Ryswick, king William did dispatch this very gentleman to Paris, upon the same account for which he now came. This possibly might be the motive (beside the known abilities of monsieur Prior) to send him a second time. The following particulars I heard in discourse between mademoiselle de

Marais and her husband; which, being no great secrets on our side the water, I suppose were told without consequence.

Monsieur Prior, having his instructions from the English court, under pretence of taking a short journey of pleasure, and visiting the chevalier de H———* in the province of Suffolk, left his house on Sunday night, the 11th of July, N. S. taking none of his servants with him. Monsieur M——— who had already prepared a bark, with all necessaries, on the coast of Dover, took monsieur Prior disguised in his chariot. They lay on Monday night, the 12th of July, at the count de Jersey's house in Kent; arrived in good time the next day at Dover, drove directly to the shore, made the sign by waving their hats, which was answered by the vessel; and the boat was immediately sent to take him in: which he entered, wrapt in his cloak, and soon got aboard. He was six hours at sea, and arrived at Calais about eleven at night; went immediately to the governor, who received him with great respect, where he lay all night; and set out pretty late the next morning, being somewhat incommoded with his voyage; and then took post for Boulogne, as I have before related.

In the first conversation I had the honour to have with monsieur Prior, he was pleased to talk as if he would have occasion for my service but a very few days; and seemed resolved, by his discourse, that, after he had dispatched his commission with monsieur de la Bastide (for so we shall from henceforward call that minister) he would return to England. By

* Sir Thomas Hanmer.

this

this I found I should have but little employment in quality of secretary; however, having heard so great a character of him, I was willing to attend him in any capacity he pleased. Four days we continued at Boulogne, where monsieur de la Bastide and monsieur Prior had two long conferences every day from ten to one at noon, and from six till nine in the evening. Monsieur Prior did me the honour to send me some meat and wine constantly from his own table. Upon the third morning, I was ordered to attend early; and observed monsieur Prior to have a pleasant countenance. He asked me, "What I "thought of a journey to England?" and commanded me to be ready at an hour's warning. But, upon the fourth evening, all this was changed; and I was directed to hire the best horse I could find for myself.

We set out early the next day, Sunday the 18th, for Paris, in monsieur de la Bastide's chaise, whose two attendants and myself made up the equipage; but a small *valise*, which I suppose contained monsieur Prior's instructions, he was pleased to trust to my care, to carry on horseback; which trust I discharged with the utmost faithfulness.

Somewhat above two leagues from Boulogne, at a small village called Neile, the axletree broke, which took us two hours to mend; we baited at Montreuil, and lay that night at Abbeville. But I shall not give you any detail of our journey, which passed without any considerable accident till we arrived within four leagues of Paris; when, about three in the afternoon, two cavaliers, well mounted, and armed with pistols, crossed the road, then turned short, and rode up briskly to the chaise, commanding

ing the coachman to stop. Monsieur de la Bastide's two attendants were immediately up with them; but I, who guessed at the importance of the charge that monsieur Prior had entrusted me with, though I was in no fear for my own person, thought it most prudent to advance with what speed I could to a small village, about a quarter of a league forward, to wait the event. I soon observed the chaise to come on without any disturbance, and I ventured to meet it; when I found that it was only a frolick of two young cadets of quality, who had been making a debauch at a friend's house hard by, and were returning to Paris: one of them was not unknown to monsieur de la Bastide. The two cavaliers began to railly me; said, "I knew how to make a retreat;" with some other pleasantries: but monsieur Prior (who knew the cause) highly commended my discretion. We continued our journey very merrily; and arrived at Paris on Tuesday the 20th, in the cool of the evening.

At the entrance of the town, our two cavaliers left us; and monsieur de la Bastide conducted monsieur Prior to a private lodging in the Ruë St. Louis, which, by all circumstances, I concluded to be prepared for his reception. Here I first had orders to say that the gentleman to whom I had the honour to belong was called monsieur Matthews; I then knew no otherwise. Afterward, at Versailles, I overheard, in conversation with monsieur de la Bastide, that his real name was Prior.

Monsieur de la Bastide would have had monsieur Matthews to have gone with him next morning to Versailles, but could not prevail with him to comply; of which I could never be able to learn the reason.

reason. Our minister was very importunate; and monsieur Prior seemed to have no fatigue remaining from his journey: perhaps he might conceive it more suitable to his dignity, that monsieur de la Bastide should go before, to prepare the king, by giving notice of his arrival. However it were, monsieur de la Bastide made all haste to Versailles, and returned the same night. During his absence, monsieur Prior never stirred out of his chamber; and after dinner, did me the honour to send for me up, "that I might bear him company," as he was pleased to express it. I was surprised to hear him wondering at the misery he had observed in our country, in his journey from Calais; at the scarcity and poverty of the inhabitants, "which," he said, "did much exceed even what he had seen in his "former journey;" for he owned that he had been in France before. He seemed to value himself very much upon the happiness of his own island, which, as he pretended, had felt no effects like these upon trade or agriculture.

I made bold to return for answer, "That in our "nation, we only consulted the magnificence and "power of our prince; but that in England, as I "was informed, the wealth of the kingdom was so "divided among the people, that little or nothing "was left to their sovereign; and that it was con-"fidently told (though hardly believed in France) "that some subjects had palaces more magnificent "than queen Anne herself: that I hoped, when he "went to Versailles, he would allow the grandeur of "our potent monarch to exceed, not only that of "England, but any other in Europe; by which he "would find, that what he called the poverty of our "nation,

" nation, was rather the effect of policy in our court,
" than any real want or necessity."

Monsieur Prior had no better answer to make me, than, " That he was no stranger to our court, the " splendour of our prince, and the maxims by which " he governed; but, for his part, he thought those " countries were happier, where the productions of " it were more equally divided." Such unaccountable notions is the prejudice of education apt to give! In these and the like discourses, we wore away the time till monsieur de la Bastide's return; who, after an hour's private conference with monsieur Prior, which I found by their countenances had been warmly pursued on both sides, a chariot and six horses (to my great surprise) were instantly ordered, wherein the two ministers entered, and drove away with all expedition; myself only attending on horseback with my important *valise*.

We got to Versailles on Wednesday the 21st, about eleven at night; but, instead of entering the town, the coachman drove us a back way into the fields, till we stopped at a certain vineyard, that I afterward understood joined to the gardens of madame Maintenon's lodgings. Here the two gentlemen alighted: monsieur Prior, calling to me, bad me search in the *valise* for a small box of writings; after which, the coachman was ordered to attend in that place; and we proceeded on some paces, till we stopped at a little postern, which opened into the vineyard, whereof monsieur de la Bastide had the key. He opened it very readily, and shut it after them; desiring me to stay till their return.

I waited with some impatience for three hours: the great clock struck two before they came out.

The

The coachman, who, I suppose, had his instructions before, as soon as they were got into the chariot, drove away to a small house at the end of the town, where monsieur de la Bastide left us to ourselves. I observed monsieur Prior was very thoughtful; and without entering into any conversation, desired my assistance to put him to bed. Next morning, Thursday the 22d, I had positive orders not to stir abroad. About ten o'clock, monsieur de la Bastide came. The house being small, my apartment was divided from monsieur Prior's by a thin wainscot; so that I could easily hear what they said, when they raised their voice, as they often did. After some time, I could hear monsieur de la Bastide say, with great warmth, *Bon Dieu!* &c. "Good God! were ever "such demands made to a great monarch, unless "you were at the gates of his metropolis? For the "love of God, monsieur Prior relax something, if "your instructions will permit you; else I shall "despair of any good success in our negotiation. Is "it not enough that our king will abandon his "grandson, but he must lend his own arm to pull "him out of the throne? Why did you not open "yourself to me at Boulogne? why are you more "inexorable here at Versailles? You have risen in "your demands, by seeing madame Maintenon's "desire for a peace! As able as you are to continue "the war, consider which is to be most preferred, "the good of your country, or the particular ad-"vantage of your general; for he will be the only "gainer among your subjects." Monsieur Prior, who has a low voice, and had not that occasion for passion, answered so softly, that I could not well understand him; but, upon parting, I heard him say,

"If

" If you insist still on these difficulties, my next " audience will be that of leave."

Three hours after, monsieur de la Bastide returned again, with a countenance more composed. He asked Mr. Prior, if he would give him leave to dine with him? Having no attendants, I readily offered my service at table*; which monsieur Prior was pleased to accept, with abundance of apologies. I found they were come to a better understanding. Mr. Prior has a great deal of wit and vivacity; he entertained monsieur de la Bastide with much pleasantry, notwithstanding their being upon the reserve before me. " That monsieur," says Mr. Matthews, " if he were *un particulier*†, would be the " most agreeable person in the world." I imagined they spoke of the king; but, going often in and out, I could not preserve the connection of their discourse. " Did you mind how obligingly he in- " quired, whether our famous chevalier Newton " was still living? he told me, my good friend poor " Despreaux was dead since I was in France; and " asked me after queen Anne's health." These are some of the particulars I overheard while at dinner; which confirmed my opinion, that monsieur Prior last night had an audience of his majesty.

About ten that evening, monsieur de la Bastide came to take monsieur Matthews, to go to the same place where they were at before. I was permitted to enter the vineyard, but not the gardens, being left at the gate to wait their return; which was in

* By this and some other preceding particulars, we may discover what sort of secretary the author was.

† A private man.

about

about two hours time. The moon shone bright; and by monsieur Matthews's manner, I thought he appeared somewhat dissatisfied. When he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in some passion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extremely pensive: at length he called to be put to bed; and ordered me to set a candle by his bed side, and to fetch him some papers out of his *valise* to read.

On Friday the 23d, in the morning, monsieur Matthews was so obliging to call me to him; with the assurance, that he was extremely pleased with my discretion and manner of address; as a proof of which satisfaction, he would give me leave to satify my curiosity with seeing so fine a place as Versailles; telling me, "he should return next day toward "Boulogne; and therefore advised me to go im- "mediately to view the palace; with this caution "(though he did not suppose I needed it) not to "say any thing of the occasion that brought me to "Versailles."

Monsieur de la Bastide having staid the afternoon with monsieur Matthews, about eight o'clock they went to the rendezvous. My curiosity had led me in the morning to take a stricter view of the vineyard and gardens. I remained at the gate as before. In an hour and a half's time, monsieur Matthews, with monsieur de la Bastide, another gentleman, and a lady, came into the walk. De la Bastide opened the gate, and held it some time in his hand. While monsieur Matthews was taking his leave of those persons, I heard the lady say, at parting, *monsieur, songez vous*, &c. "Consider "this night on what we have said to you." The gentleman

gentleman seconded her; saying, *Ouy, ouy, monsieur, songez vous en pour la derniere fois.* "Ay, "ay, sir, consider of it for the last time." To which monsieur Matthews answered briskly, in going out, *Sire, tout ou rien,* &c. "Sir, all or "none, as I have had the honour to tell your "majesty before." Which puts it beyond dispute what the quality of those persons were, by whom monsieur Matthews had the honour to be entertained.

On Saturday the 24th, monsieur Matthews kept close as before; telling me "a post chaise was or- "dered, to carry him to Calais; and he would do "me the grace* to take me with him, to keep him "company in the journey, for he should leave "monsieur de la Bastide at Versailles." While we were discoursing, that gentleman came in, with an open air, and a smiling countenance. He embraced monsieur Matthews; and seemed to feel so much joy, that he could not easily conceal it. I left the chamber, and retired to my own; whence I could hear him say, "Courage, monsieur: no "travelling to day. Madame Maintenon will have "me once more conduct you to her." After which I was called, and received orders about dinner, &c. Monsieur de la Bastide told me, "We should set out about midnight." He staid the rest of the day with monsieur Matthews. About ten o'clock they went forth, but dispensed with my attendance; it was one in the morning before they returned, though

* An affected Gallicism, to favour the idea of the whole being a translation. The like artifice may be observed in some other passages.

the

the chaise was at the gate soon after eleven. Monsieur Matthews took a morsel of bread, and a large glass of Hermitage wine; after which they embraced with much kindness, and so parted.

Our journey to Calais passed without any accident worth informing you. Mr. Prior, who is of a constitution somewhat tender, was troubled with a rheum, which made speaking uneasy to him: but it was not so at all to me; and therefore I entertained him, as well as I could, chiefly with the praises of our great monarch, the magnificence of his court, the number of his attendants, the awe and veneration paid him by his generals and ministers, and the immense riches of the kingdom. One afternoon, in a small village between Chaumont and Beauvais, as I was discoursing on this subject, several poor people followed the chaise, to beg our charity: one louder than the rest, a comely person, about fifty, all in rags, but with a mien that showed him to be of a good house, cried out, *monsieur, pour l'amour de Dieu*, &c. "Sir, for "the love of God, give something to the marquis "de Sourdis!" Mr. Prior, half asleep, rouzed himself up at the name of marquis, called the poor gentleman to him, and, observing something in his behaviour like a man of quality, very generously threw him a pistole. As the coach went on, monsieur Prior asked me, with much surprise, "Whether I thought it possible that unhappy crea- "ture could be *un veritable marquis**; for, if it "were so, surely the miseries of our country must "be much greater than even our very enemies

* A real marquis.

" could hope or believe?" I made bold to tell him, " That I thought we could not well judge " from particulars to generals; and that I was sure " there were great numbers of marquises in France, " who had ten thousand livres a year." I tell you this passage, to let you see, that the wisest men have some prejudices of their country about them! We got to Calais on Wednesday the 28th in the evening; and the next morning (the 29th) I took my leave of monsieur Prior; who, thanking me in the civillest manner in the world for the service I had done him, very nobly made me a present of fifty pistoles; and so we parted. He put to sea with a fair wind, and I suppose, in a few hours landed in England.

This, sir, is the utmost I am able to inform you about monsieur Prior's journey and negotiation. Time alone will let us know the events of it, which are yet in the dark.

I am,
SIR,
You most obedient and
most humble servant,

DU BAUDRIER.

POSTSCRIPT,

## POSTSCRIPT,

## BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The author of this tract, having left his master on shipboard at Calais, had, it seems, no farther intelligence when he published it: neither am I able to supply it, but by what passes in common report; which, being in every body's mouth, but with no certainty, I think it needless to repeat.

THE

# IMPORTANCE

OF

# THE GUARDIAN

CONSIDERED, IN

A SECOND LETTER

TO THE

BAILIFF OF STOCKBRIDGE.

BY A FRIEND OF MR. STEELE.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1713.

THE original edition of this tract was become so exceedingly scarce, that the editor in vain advertised for a copy of it in most of the publick papers for many months, and obtained it at last by an unexpected accident. Though we have no positive evidence to ascribe this tract to Swift, yet there are circumstances equal to decisive testimony. It is enumerated in the Examiner, among other pieces which were certainly written by him, and which are separated from those of other writers, in a manner which appears intended to prevent their being confounded with the works of inferiour authors. But here we must lament the interruption of the Journal to Stella, which, in several instances, has so decisively ascertained those pieces, which we at first only conjectured to be Swift's from their being classed in the above described manner. Not one tract, however, has been thus admitted, that bears not the internal marks of its author; the few which appeared suspicious being still consigned to obscurity. Our author went to Ireland, June, 1713, to take possession of his deanery; but returned to London in September: and it is certain, that the following winter produced some of the most excellent pieces, both in prose and verse, which are to be found in his whole works.

## THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

MR. Steele, in his "Letter of the Bailiff of Stock-"bridge," has given us leave "to treat him as we "think fit, as he is our brother scribbler; but not to "attack him as an honest man," p. 40. That is to say, he allows us to be his criticks, but not his answerers; and he is altogether in the right, for there is in his letter much to be criticised, and little to be answered. The situation and importance of Dunkirk are pretty well known. Mons. Tugghe's memorial, published and handed about by the whigs, is allowed to be a very trifling paper: and as to the immediate demolishment of that town, Mr. Steele pretends to offer no other argument but the expectations of the people, which is a figurative speech, naming the tenth part for the whole; as Bradshaw told king Charles I, that the people of England expected justice against him. I have therefore entered very little into the subject he pretends to treat; but have considered his pamphlet partly as a critick, and partly as a commentator; which, I think, is "to treat him "only as my brother scribbler," according to the permission he has graciously allowed me.

To the worshipful MR. JOHN SNOW, bailiff of Stockbridge.

SIR,

I HAVE just been reading a twelvepenny pamphlet about Dunkirk, addressed to your worship from one

of your intended representatives; and I find several passages in it which want explanation, especially to you in the country: for we in town, have a way of talking and writing, which is very little understood beyond the bills of mortality. I have therefore made bold to send you here a second letter, by way of comment upon the former.

In order to this, "You, Mr. Bailiff, and at the "same time the whole borough," may please to take notice, that London writers often put titles to their papers and pamphlets, which have little or no reference to the main design of the work: so, for instance, you will observe in reading, that the letter called, "The Importance of Dunkirk," is wholly taken up in showing you the importance of Mr. Steele; wherein it was indeed reasonable your borough should be informed, which had chosen him to represent them.

I would therefore place the importance of this gentleman before you, in a clearer light than he has given himself the trouble to do; without running into his early history, because I owe him no malice.

Mr. Steele is author of two tolerable plays, or at least of the greatest part of them; which, added to the company he kept, and to the continual conversation and friendship of Mr. Addison, has given him the character of a wit. To take the height of his learning, you are to suppose a lad just fit for the university, and sent early from thence into the wide world, where he followed every way of life, that might least improve, or preserve, the rudiments he had got. He has no invention, nor is master of a tolerable style; his chief talent is humour, which he sometimes discovers both in writing and discourse

course; for, after the first bottle, he is no disagreeable companion. I never knew him taxed with ill nature, which has made me wonder how ingratitude came to be his prevailing vice; and I am apt to think it proceeds more from some unaccountable sort of instinct, than premeditation. Being the most imprudent man alive, he never follows the advice of his friends; but is wholly at the mercy of fools or knaves, or hurried away by his own caprice; by which he has committed more absurdities, in economy, friendship, love, duty, good manners, politicks, religion, and writing, than ever fell to one man's share. He was appointed gazetteer by Mr. Harley (then secretary of state) at the recommendation of Mr. Maynwaring, with a salary of three hundred pounds; was a commissioner of stamped paper, of equal profit; and had a pension of a hundred pounds *per annum*, as a servant to the late prince George.

This gentleman, whom I have now described to you, began between four and five years ago to publish a paper thrice a week, called the Tatler. It came out under the borrowed name of Isaac Bickerstaff, and, by contribution of his ingenious friends, grew to have a great reputation, and was equally esteemed by both parties, because it meddled with neither. But, some time after Sacheverell's trial, when things began to change their aspect, Mr. Steele, whether by the command of his superiours, his own inconstancy, or the absence of his assistants, would needs corrupt his paper with politicks; published one or two most virulent libels, and chose for his subject even that individual Mr. Harley, who had made him gazetteer. But, his finger and thumb

thumb not proving strong enough to stop the general torrent, there was a universal change made in the ministry; and the two new secretaries, not thinking it decent to employ a man in their office who had acted so infamous a part, Mr. Steele, to avoid being discarded, thought fit to resign his place of gazetteer. Upon which occasion, I cannot forbear relating a passage "to you, Mr. Bai- "liff, and the rest of the borough," which discovers a very peculiar turn of thought in this gentleman you have chosen to represent you. When Mr. Maynwaring recommended him to the employment of gazetteer, Mr. Harley, out of an inclination to encourage men of parts, raised that office from fifty pounds to three hundred pounds a year. Mr. Steele, according to form, came to give his new patron thanks; but the secretary, who would rather confer a hundred favours, than receive acknowledgments for one, said to him, in a most obliging manner, "Pray, sir, do not thank me; but "thank Mr. Maynwaring." Soon after Mr. Steele's quitting that employment, he complained to a gentleman in office, of the hardship put upon him in being forced to quit his place: that he knew Mr. Harley was the cause; that he never had done Mr. Harley any injury, nor received any obligation from him. The gentleman, amazed at this discourse, put him in mind of those libels published in his Tatlers. Mr. Steele said, he was only the publisher, for they had been sent him by other hands. The gentleman thinking this a very monstrous kind of excuse, and not allowing it, Mr. Steele then said, "Well, I have libelled him, and "he has turned me out; and so we are equal."—

But

But neither would this be granted: and he was asked whether the place of gazetteer were not an obligation? "No," said he, "not from Mr. Har-"ley; for, when I went to thank him, he forbad "me, and said, I must only thank Mr. Mayn-"waring."

But I return, Mr. Bailiff, to give you a farther account of this gentleman's importance. In less, I think, than two years, the town and he grew weary of the Tatler: he was silent for some months; and then a daily paper came from him and his friends, under the name of Spectator, with good success: this being likewise dropped after a certain period, he has of late appeared under the style of Guardian, which he has now likewise quitted for that of Englishman; but, having chosen other assistance, or trusting more to himself, his papers have been very coldly received, which has made him fly for relief to the never failing source of faction.

In the beginning of August last, Mr. Steele writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, esq., and subscribes it with the name of "English Tory." On the 7th, the said Ironside publishes this letter in the Guardian. How shall I explain this matter to you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough? You must know then, that Mr. Steele and Mr. Ironside are the same persons, because there is a great relation between Iron and Steel; and English Tory and Mr. Steele are the same persons, because there is no relation at all between Mr. Steele and an English Tory; so that, to render this matter clear to the very meanest capacities, Mr. English Tory, the very same person with Mr. Steele, writes a letter to Nestor Ironside, esq., who is the same person with

with English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele: and Mr. Ironside, who is the same person with English Tory, publishes the letter written by English Tory, who is the same person with Mr. Steele, who is the same person with Mr. Ironside. This letter, written and published by these three gentlemen, who are one of your representatives, complains of a printed paper in French and English, lately handed about the town, and given gratis to passengers in the streets at noon day; the title whereof is, "A most humble Address, or Me-"morial, presented to her Majesty the Queen of "Great Britain, by the Deputy of the Magistrates "of Dunkirk." This deputy, it seems, is called the sieur Tugghe. Now, the remarks made upon this memorial by Mr. English Tory, in his letter to Mr. Ironside, happening to provoke the Examiner and another pamphleteer, they both fell hard upon Mr. Steele, charging him with insolence and ingratitude toward the queen. But Mr. Steele, nothing daunted, writes a long letter "to you, Mr. Bailiff, and "at the same time to the whole borough," in his own vindication. But, there being several difficult passages in this letter, which may want clearing up, I here send you and the borough my annotation upon it.

Mr. Steele, in order to display his importance to your borough, begins his letter by letting you know "he is no small man," p. 1; because, in the pamphlets he has sent you down, you will "find him spoken of more than once in print." It is indeed a great thing to be "spoken of in print," and must needs make a mighty sound at Stockbridge among the electors. However, if Mr. Steele has really

really sent you down all the pamphlets and papers printed since the dissolution, you will find he is not the only person of importance; I could instance Abel Roper, Mr. Marten the surgeon, Mr. John Moore the apothecary at the pestle and mortar, sir William Read her majesty's oculist, and, of later name and fame, Mr. John Smith the corn-cutter, with several others who are "spoken of "more than once in print." Then he recommends to your perusal, and sends you a copy of, a printed paper given *gratis* about the streets, which is the memorial of monsieur Tugghe, abovementioned, "Deputy of the magistrates of Dunkirk," to desire her majesty not to demolish the said town. He tells you how insolent a thing it is, that such a paper should be publickly distributed, and he tells you true; but these insolences are very frequent among the whigs. One of their present topicks for clamour is Dunkirk: here is a memorial said to be presented to the queen by an obscure Frenchman; one of your party gets a copy, and immediately prints it by contribution, and delivers it gratis to the people: which answers several ends. First, It is meant to lay an odium on the ministry. Secondly, If the town be soon demolished, Mr. Steele and his faction have the merit; their arguments and threatenings have frightened my lord treasurer. Thirdly, If the demolishing should be farther deferred, the nation will be fully convinced of his lordship's intention to bring over the pretender.

Let us turn over fourteen pages, which contain the memorial itself, and which is indeed as idle a one as ever I read; we come now to Mr. Steele's letter,

letter, under the name of English Tory, to Mr. Ironside. In the preface to this letter, p. 15, he has these words ; " It is certain there is not much " danger in delaying the demolition of Dunkirk " during the life of his present most christian ma- " jesty, who is renowned for the most inviolable " regard to treaties ; but that pious prince is aged, " and in case of his decease," &c. This preface is in the words of Mr. Ironside, a professed whig ; and perhaps you in the country will wonder to hear a zealot of your own party, celebrating the French king for his piety and his religious performance of treaties. For this, I can assure you, is not spoken in jest, or to be understood by contrary. There is a wonderful resemblance between that prince and the party of whigs among us. Is he for arbitrary government ? So are they. Has he persecuted protestants ? So have the whigs. Did he attempt to restore king James and his pretended son ? They did the same. Would he have Dunkirk surrendered to him ? This is what they desire. Does he call himself the Most Christian ? The whigs assume the same title, though their leaders deny christianity. Does he break his promises ? Did they ever keep theirs ?

From the 16th to the 38th page, Mr. Steele's pamphlet is taken up with a copy of his letter to Mr. Ironside, the remarks of the Examiner and another author upon that letter : the hydrography of some French and English ports, and his answer to Mr. Tugghe's memorial. The bent of his discourse is, in appearance, to show of what prodigious consequence to the welfare of England the surrender of Dunkirk was. But here, Mr. Bailiff, you must be

be careful; for all this is said in raillery; for you may easily remember, that when the town was first yielded to the queen, the whigs declare it was of no consequence at all, that the French could easily repair it after the demolition, or fortify another a few miles off, which would be of more advantage to them. So that what Mr. Steele tells you, of the prodigious benefit that will accrue to England by destroying this port, is only suited to present junctures and circumstances. For, if Dunkirk should now be represented as insignificant as when it was first put into her majesty's hands, it would signify nothing whether it were demolished or not, and consequently one principal topick of clamour would fall to the ground.

In Mr. Steele's answer to monsieur Tugghe's arguments against the demolishing of Dunkirk, I have not observed any thing that so much deserves your peculiar notice, as the great eloquence of your new member, and his wonderful faculty of varying his style, which he calls "proceeding like a man of "great gravity and business," p. 31. He has ten arguments of Tugghe's to answer; and because he will not go in the old beaten road, like a parson of a parish, first, secondly, thirdly, &c. his manner is this:

In answer to the sieur's first.
As to the sieur's second.
As to his third.
As to the sieur's fourth.
As to Mr. deputy's fifth.
As to the sieur's sixth.
As to this agent's seventh.
As to the sieur's eighth.

As

As to his ninth.

As to the memorialist's tenth.

You see every second expression is more or les diversified, to avoid the repetition of, " As to the sieur's," &c. and there is the tenth into the bargain. I could heartily wish monsieur Tugghe had been able to find ten arguments more, and thereby given Mr. Steele an opportunity of showing the utmost variations our language would bear, in so momentous a trial.

Mr. Steele tells you, " That having now done " with his foreign enemy, monsieur Tugghe, he " must face about to his domestick foes, who accuse " him of ingratitude, and insulting his prince, while " he is eating her bread."

To do him justice, he acquits himself pretty tolerably of this last charge: for he assures you, he gave up his stamped paper office, and pension as gentleman usher before he wrote that letter to himself in the Guardian; so that he had already received his salary, and spent his money, and consequently the bread was eaten at least a week before he would offer to insult his prince: so that the folly of the Examiner's objecting ingratitude to him upon this article, is manifest to all the world.

But, he tells you, he has quitted those employments, to render him more useful to his queen and country, in the station you have honoured him with. That, no doubt, was the principal motive; however, I shall venture to add some others. First, the Guardian apprehended it impossible, that the ministry would let him keep his place much longer, after the part he had acted for above two years past. Secondly, Mr. Ironside said publickly, that he was ashamed

ashamed to be obliged any longer to a person (meaning the lord treasurer) whom he had used so ill: for, it seems, a man ought not to use his benefactors ill, above two years and a half. Thirdly, The sieur Steele appeals for protection to you, Mr. Bailiff, from others of your denomination, who would have carried him somewhere else, if you had not relieved him, by your *habeas corpus* to St. Stephen's chapel. Fourthly, Mr. English Tory found, by calculating the life of a ministry, that it has lasted above three years, and is near expiring; he resolved, therefore, to "strip off "the very garments spotted with the flesh," and be wholly regenerate against the return of his old masters.

In order to serve all these ends, your borough has honoured him (as he expresses it) with choosing him to represent you in parliament; and it must be owned, he has equally honoured you. Never was borough more happy in suitable representatives, than you are in Mr. Steele and his colleague*; nor were ever representatives more happy in a suitable borough.

When Mr. Steele talked of "laying before her "majesty's ministry, that the nation has a strict eye "upon their behaviour with relation to Dunkirk," p. 39; did not you, Mr. Bailiff, and your brethren of the borough, presently imagine he had drawn up a sort of countermemorial to that of monsieur Tugghe, and presented it in form to my lord treasurer, or a secretary of state? I am confident you did; but this comes by not understanding the town. You are to know then, that Mr. Steele publishes every day a penny paper to be read in coffeehouses,

* Thomas Broderick, esq.

and get him a little money. This, by a figure of speech, he calls, "laying things before the ministry," who seem at present a little too busy to regard such memorials; and, I dare say, never saw his paper, unless he sent it by the penny post.

Well, but he tells you, "he cannot offer against "the Examiner and his other adversary, reason and "argument, without appearing void of both," ibid. What a singular situation of the mind is this! How glad should I be to hear a man "offer reasons and "argument, and yet at the same time appear void of "both!" But this whole paragraph is of a peculiar strain; the consequences so just and natural, and such a propriety in thinking, as few authors ever arrive at. "Since it has been the fashion to run down "men of much greater consequence than I am; I "will not bear the accusation," ibid. This, I suppose, is, "to offer reasons and arguments, and "yet appear void of both." And in the next lines; "These writers shall treat me as they think fit, as I "am their brother-scribbler; but I shall not be so "unconcerned when they attack me as an honest "man," p. 40. And how does he defend himself? "I shall therefore inform them, that it is not in the "power of a private man, to hurt the prerogative," &c. Well; I shall treat him only as a brother-scribbler; and I guess he will hardly be attacked as an honest man: but, if his meaning be that his honesty ought not to be attacked, because he "has "no power to hurt the honour and prerogative of "the crown without being punished;" he will make an admirable reasoner in the house of commons.

But all this wise argumentation was introduced, only

only to close the paragraph, by hauling in a fact which he relates to you and your borough, in order to quiet the minds of the people, and express his duty and gratitude to the queen. The fact is this; "That her majesty's honour is in danger of being "lost, by her ministers tolerating villains without "conscience to abuse the greatest instruments of "honour and glory to our country, the most wise "and faithful managers, and the most pious, disin-"terested, generous, and self-denying patriots;" and the instances he produces are, the duke of Marlborough, the late earl of Godolphin, and about two thirds of the bishops.

Mr. Bailiff, I cannot debate this matter at length, without putting you, and the rest of my countrymen who will be at the expense, to sixpence charge extraordinary. The duke and earl were both removed from their employments; and I hope you have too great a respect for the queen, to think it was done for nothing. The former was at the head of many great actions; and he has received plentiful oblations of praise and profit: yet, having read all that ever was objected against him by the Examiner, I will undertake to prove every syllable of it true, particularly that famous attempt to be general for life. The earl of Godolphin is dead, and his faults may sojourn with him in the grave, till some historian shall think fit to revive part of them, for instruction and warning to posterity. But it grieved me to the soul, to see so many good epithets bestowed by Mr. Steele upon the bishops: nothing has done more hurt to that sacred order for some years past, than to hear some prelates extolled by whigs, dissenters, republicans, socinians, and, in short, by

all who are enemies to episcopacy. God, in his mercy, for ever keep our prelates from deserving the praises of such panegyrists!

Mr. Steele is discontented that the ministry have not "called the Examiner to account, as well as the "Flying-Post." I will inform you, Mr. Bailiff, how that matter stands. The author of the Flying-Post has thrice a week, for above two years together, published the most impudent reflections upon all the present ministry, upon all their proceedings, and upon the whole body of tories. The Examiner, on the other side, writing in defence of those whom her majesty employs in her greatest affairs, and of the cause they are engaged in, has always born hard upon the whigs, and now and then upon some of their leaders. Now, sir, we reckon here, that supposing the persons on both sides to be of equal intrinsick worth, it is more impudent, immoral, and criminal, to reflect on a majority in power, than a minority out of power. Put the case, that an odd rascally tory in your borough should presume to abuse your worship, who, in the language of Mr. Steele, are first minister, and the majority of your brethren, for sending two such whig representatives up to parliament; and on the other side, that an honest whig should stand in your defence, and fall foul on the tories; would you equally resent the proceedings of both, and let your friend and enemy sit in the stocks together? Hearken to another case, Mr. Bailiff; suppose your worship, during your annual administration, should happen to be kicked and cuffed by a parcel of tories; would not the circumstance of your being a magistrate make the crime the greater, than if the like insults were committed on

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an ordinary tory shopkeeper, by a company of honest whigs? What bailiff would venture to arrest Mr. Steele, now he has the honour to be your representative? and what bailiff ever scrupled it before?

You must know, sir, that we have several ways here of abusing one another, without incurring the danger of the law. First, we are careful never to print a man's name out at length; but, as I do, that of Mr. St—le*: so that, although every body alive knows whom I mean, the plaintiff can have no redress in any court of justice. Secondly, by putting cases; thirdly, by insinuations; fourthly, by celebrating the actions of others, who acted directly contrary to the persons we would reflect on; fifthly, by nicknames, either commonly known or stamped for the purpose, which every body can tell how to apply. Without going on farther, it will be enough to inform you, that by some of the ways I have already mentioned, Mr. Steele gives you to understand, that the queen's honour is blasted by the actions of her present ministers; that "her prero-"gative is disgraced by creating a dozen peers, "who, by their votes, turned a point upon which "your all depended; that these ministers made the "queen lay down her conquering arms, and deli-"ver herself up to be vanquished; that they made "her majesty betray her allies, by ordering her "army to face about, and leave them in the mo-"ment of distress; that the present ministers are "men of poor and narrow conceptions, self-inte-"rested, and without benevolence to mankind, and "were brought into her majesty's favour for the

* Thus, in the first edition, the name was constantly contracted.

" sins of the nation: and only think what they " may do, not what they ought to do," p. 43. This is the character given by Mr. Steele of those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to place in the highest stations of the kingdom, and to trust with the management of her most weighty affairs; and this is the gentleman who cries out, " Where " is honour? where is government? where is pre- " rogative?" p. 40; because the Examiner has sometimes dealt freely with those whom the queen has thought fit to discard, and the parliament to censure.

But Mr. Steele thinks it highly dangerous to the prince, " that any man should be hindered from " offering his thoughts upon publick affairs;" and resolves to do it, " though with the loss of her ma- " jesty's favour," p. 45. If a clergyman offers to preach obedience to the higher powers, and proves it by Scripture; Mr. Steele and his fraternity immediately cry out, " What have parsons to do with " politicks?" I ask, What shadow of a pretence has he to offer his crude thoughts in matters of state? to print and publish them? " to lay them " before the queen and ministry?" and to reprove both for maleadministration? How did he acquire these abilities of directing in the councils of princes? Was it from publishing Tatlers and Spectators, and writing now and then a Guardian? was it from his being a soldier, alchemist*, gazetteer, commissioner

* Sir Richard Steele was one of the last eminent men who entertained hopes of being successful in the pursuit of the Philosopher's stone. His laboratory (as I have been assured by the late George Stevens, esq.) was at Poplar, a village near London; and is now converted into a garden-house.

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of stamped papers, or gentleman usher? No; but he insists it is every man's right to find fault with the administration in print, whenever they please: and therefore you, Mr. Bailiff, and as many of your brethren in the borough as can write and read, may publish pamphlets, and "lay them before the queen "and ministry," to show your utter dislike of all their proceedings; and for this reason, because you "can certainly see and apprehend, with your own "eyes and understanding, those dangers which the "ministers do not."

One thing I am extremely concerned about, that Mr. Steele resolves, as he tells you, p. 46, when he comes into the house, "to follow no leaders, but "vote according to the dictates of his conscience." He must, at that rate, be a very useless member to his party, unless his conscience he already cut out and shaped for their service, which I am ready to believe it is, if I may have leave to judge from the whole tenour of his life. I would only have his friends be cautious, not to reward him too liberally: for, as it was said of Cranmer, "Do the archbishop "an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever." So I do affirm of your member, "Do Mr. Steele a good "turn, and he is your enemy for ever."

I had like to let slip a very trivial matter which I should be sorry to have done. In reading this pamphlet, I observed several mistakes, but knew not whether to impute them to the author or printer; till, turning to the end, I found there was only one erratum, thus set down, "Pag. 45, line "28, for *admonition* read *advertisement*." This (to imitate Mr. Steele's propriety of speech) is a very old practice among new writers, to make a wilful

mistake, and then put it down as an erratum. The word is brought in upon this occasion, to convince all the world that he was not guilty of ingratitude, by reflecting on the queen when he was actually under salary, as the Examiner affirms; he assures you, he "had resigned and divested himself of all, "before he would presume to write any thing "which was so apparently an ADMONITION* to "those employed in her majesty's service." In case the Examiner should find fault with this word, he might appeal to the erratum; and having formerly been gazetteer, he conceived he might very safely venture to advertise.

You are to understand, Mr. Bailiff, that in the great rebellion against king Charles I, there was a distinction found out between the personal and political capacity of the prince; by the help of which, those rebels professed to fight for the king, while the great guns were discharging against Charles Stuart. After the same manner, Mr. Steele distinguishes between the personal and political prerogative. He does not care to trust this jewel "to the "will, and pleasure, and passion, of her majesty," p. 48. If I am not mistaken, the crown jewels cannot be alienated by the prince; but I always thought the prince could wear them during his reign, else they had as good be in the hands of the subject: so, I conceive, her majesty may and ought to wear the prerogative; that it is hers during life; and she ought to be so much the more careful, neither to soil nor diminish it, for that very reason, because it is by law unalienable. But what must

* Mr. Steele altered this word in his second edition.

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we do with this prerogative, according to the notion of Mr. Steele? It must not be trusted with the queen, because Providence has given her will, pleasure, and passion. Her ministers must not act by the authority of it; for then Mr. Steele will cry out, "What? Are majesty and ministry consolidated? and must there be no distinction between the one and the other?" p. 46. He tells you, p. 48, "The prerogative attends the crown;" and therefore, I suppose, must lie in the Tower, to be shown for twelvepence; but never produced, except at a coronation, or passing an act. "Well, but," says he, "a whole ministry may be impeached and condemned by the house of commons, without the prince's suffering by it." And what follows? Why, therefore, a single burgess of Stockbridge, before he gets into the house, may at any time revile a whole ministry in print, before he knows whether they are guilty of any one neglect of duty, or breach of trust!

I am willing to join issue with Mr. Steele in one particular; which perhaps may give you some diversion. He is taxed, by the Examiner and others, for an insolent expression, that the British nation expects the immediate demolition of Dunkirk. He says, the word EXPECT was meant to the ministry, and not to the queen; "but that, however, for "argument sake, he will suppose those words were "addressed immediately to the queen." Let me then likewise, for argument sake, suppose a very ridiculous thing, that Mr. Steele were admitted to her majesty's sacred person, to tell his own story, with his letter to you, Mr. Bailiff, in his hand, to have

have recourse to upon occasion. I think his speech must be in these terms :

" MADAM,

" I Richard Steele, publisher of the Tatler and " Spectator, late gazetteer, commissioner of stamped " papers, and pensioner to your majesty, now bur- " gess elect of Stockbridge, do see and apprehend, " with my own eyes and understanding, the im- " minent danger that attends the delay of the de- " molition of Dunkirk, which I believe your mi- " nisters, whose greater concern it is, do not: for, " madam, the thing is not done; my lord trea- " surer and lord Bolingbroke, my fellow subjects, " under whose immediate direction it is, are care- " less, and overlook it, or something worse; I " mean, they design to sell it to France, or make " use of it to bring in the pretender. This is clear, " from their suffering Mr. Tugghe's memorial to " be published without punishing the printer. Your " majesty has told us, that the equivalent for Dun- " kirk is already in the French King's hands; " therefore all obstacles are removed on the part of " France; and I, though a mean fellow, give your " majesty to understand, in the best method I can " take, and from the sincerity of my grateful heart, " that the British nation expects the immediate de- " molition of Dunkirk; as you hope to preserve " your person, crown, and dignity, and the safety " and welfare of the people committed to your " charge."

I have contracted such a habit of treating princes familiarly, by reading the pamphlets of Mr. Steele and his fellows, that I am tempted to suppose her majesty's

majesty's answer to this speech might be as follows:

" Mr. Richard Steele, late gazetteer, &c.

" I do not conceive that any of your titles em-
" power you to be my director, or to report to me
" the expectations of my people. I know their
" expectations better than you; they love me, and
" will trust me. My ministers were of my own
" free choice; I have found them wise and faith-
" ful; and whoever calls them fools or knaves, de-
" signs indirectly an affront to myself. I am un-
" der no obligations to demolish Dunkirk, but to
" the most christian king; if you come here as an
" orator from that prince to demand it in his name,
" where are your powers? If not, let it suffice you
" to know, that I have my reasons for deferring
" it; and that the clamours of a faction, shall not
" be a rule, by which I or my servants are to pro-
" ceed."

Mr. Steele tells you, " his adversaries are so " unjust, they will not take the least notice of what " led him into the necessity of writing his letter to " the Guardian." And how is it possible, any mortal should know all his necessities? Who can guess, whether this necessity were imposed on him by his superiours, or by the itch of party, or by the mere want of other matter to furnish out a Guardian?

But Mr. Steele " has had a liberal education, and " knows the world as well as the ministry does, " and will therefore speak on, whether he offends " them or no, and though their clothes be ever so " new; when he thinks his queen and country is

" (or,

" (or, as a grammarian would express it, are) ill-
" treated," p. 50.

It would be good to hear Mr. Steele explain himself upon this phrase of " knowing the world ;" because it is a science which maintains abundance of pretenders. Every idle young rake, who understands how to pick up a wench, or bilk a hackney coachman, or can call the players by their names, and is acquainted with five or six faces in the chocolate-house, will needs pass for a man that " knows the world." In the like manner Mr. Steele, who, from some few sprinklings of rudimental literature, proceeded a gentleman of the horse guards, thence by several degrees to be an ensign and an alchemist, where he was wholly conversant with the lower part of mankind, thinks he " knows the world" as well as the prime minister ; and, upon the strength of that knowledge, will needs direct her majesty in the weightiest matters of government.

And now, Mr. Bailiff, give me leave to inform you that this long letter of Mr. Steele, filled with quotations and a clutter about Dunkirk, was wholly written for the sake of the six last pages, taken up in vindicating himself directly, and vilifying the queen and ministry by innuendoes. He apprehends, that " some representations have been given of him " in your town, as, that a man of so small a for-
" tune as he, must have secret views or supports,
" which could move him to leave his employments,
" &c." p. 56. He answers, by owning " he has
" indeed very particular views ; for he is animated
" in his conduct by justice and truth, and benevo-
" lence

" lence to mankind," p. 57. He has given up his employments, because " he values no advantages " above the conveniences of life, but as they tend " to the service of the publick." It seems, he could not " serve the publick" as a pensioner, or commissioner of stamped paper; and therefore gave them up, to sit in parliament, " out of charity to " his country, and to contend for liberty," p. 58. He has transcribed the common places of some canting moralist *de contemptu mundi, & fuga seculi;* and would put them upon you as rules derived from his own practice.

Here is a most miraculous and sudden reformation, which I believe can hardly be matched in history, or legend. And Mr. Steele, not unaware how slow the world was of belief, has thought fit to anticipate all objection; he foresees that " prosti- " tuted pens will entertain a pretender to such re- " formations with a recital of his own faults and in- " firmities; but he is prepared for such usage, and " gives himself up to all nameless authors, to be " treated as they please," p. 59.

It is certain, Mr. Bailiff, that no man breathing can pretend to have arrived at such a sublime pitch of virtue, as Mr. Steele, without some tendency in the world to suspend at least their belief of the fact, till time and observation shall determine. But, I hope, few writers will be so prostitute as to trouble themselves with " the faults and infirmities" of Mr. Steele's past life, with what he somewhere else calls " the sins of his youth*," and in one of his late pa-

* See The Guardian, No. 53.

pers,

pers, confesses to have been numerous enough. A shifting scambling scene of youth, attended with poverty and ill company, may put a man of no ill inclinations upon many extravagancies, which, as soon as they are left off, are easily pardoned and forgotten. Besides, I think, popish writers tell us, that the greatest sinners make the greatest saints; but so very quick a sanctification, and carried to so prodigious a height, will be apt to rouse the suspicion of infidels, especially when they consider that this pretence of his to so romantick a virtue, is only advanced by way of solution to that difficult problem, "Why he has given up his employments?" And according to the new philosophy, they will endeavour to solve it by some easier and shorter way. For example, the question is put, Why Mr. Steele gives up his employment and pension at this juncture? I must here repeat, with some enlargement, what I said before on this head. These unbelieving gentlemen will answer,

First, That a new commission was every day expected for the stamped paper, and he knew his name would be left out; and therefore his resignation would be an appearance of virtue cheaply bought.

Secondly, He dreaded the violence of creditors, against which his employments were no manner of security.

Thirdly, Being a person of great sagacity, he has some foresight of a change, from the usual age of a ministry, which is now almost expired; from the little misunderstandings that have been reported sometimes to happen among the men in power; from the bill of commerce being rejected, and from some horrible

horrible expectations, wherewith his party have been deceiving themselves and their friends abroad for about two years past.

Fourthly, He hopes to come into all the perquisites of his predecessor Ridpath, and be the principal writer of his faction, where every thing is printed by subscription, which will amply make up the loss of his place.

But it may be still demanded, why he affects those exalted strains of piety and resignation? To this I answer, with great probability, that he has resumed his old pursuits after the philosopher's stone, toward which it is held by all adepts for a most essential ingredient, that a man must seek it merely for the glory of God, and without the least desire of being rich.

Mr. Steele is angry, p. 60, that some of our friends have been reflected on in a pamphlet, because they left us in a point of the greatest consequence; and upon that account, he runs into their panegyrick, against his conscience, and the interest of his cause, without considering that those gentlemen have reverted to us again. The case is thus: he never would have praised them if they had remained firm, nor should we have railed at them. The one is full as honest, and as natural, as the other. However, Mr. Steele hopes (I beg you, Mr. Bailiff, to observe the consequence) that notwithstanding this pamphlet's reflecting on some tories who opposed the treaty of commerce, "the "ministry will see Dunkirk effectually demolished."

Mr. Steele says something in commendation of the queen; but stops short, and tells you (if I take his meaning right) "that he shall leave what he "has

" has to say on this topick, till he and her majesty " are both dead," p. 61. Thus, he defers his praises, as he does his debts, after the manner of the druids, to be paid in another world. If I have ill interpreted him, it is his own fault, for studying cadence instead of propriety, and filling up niches with words before he has adjusted his conceptions to them. One part of the queen's character is this, " that all the hours of her life are divided between " the exercises of devotion, and taking minutes of " the sublime affairs of her government." Now, if the business of Dunkirk be one of the " sublime " affairs of her majesty's government," I think we ought to be at ease; or else she " takes her minutes" to little purpose. No, says Mr. Steele, the queen is a lady; and unless a prince will now and then get drunk with his ministers, " he cannot learn their in- " terests or humours," p. 61.; but, this being by no means proper for a lady, she can know nothing but what they think fit to tell her when they are sober. And therefore " all the fellow subjects" of these ministers must watch their motions, and " be " very solicitous for what passes beyond the ordinary " rules of government;" ibid. For while we are foolishly " relying upon her majesty's virtues," these ministers are " taking the advantage of increasing " the power of France."

There is a very good maxim, I think it is neither whig nor tory, " that the prince can do no " wrong;" which, I doubt, is often applied to very ill purposes. A monarch of Britain is pleased to create a dozen peers, and to make a peace; both these actions are (for instance) within the undisputed prerogative of the crown, and are to be reputed,

reputed, and submitted to, as the actions of the prince: but, as a king of England is supposed to be guided, in matters of such importance, by the advice of those he employs in his councils; whenever a parliament thinks fit to complain of such proceedings, as a publick grievance, then this maxim takes place, that the prince can do no wrong, and the advisers are called to account. But shall this empower such an individual as Mr. Steele, in his tatling or pamphleteering capacity, to fix "the or-"dinary rules of government," or to affirm that "her ministers, upon the security of her majesty's "goodness, are labouring for the grandeur of "France?" What ordinary rule of government is transgressed by the queen's delaying the demolition of Dunkirk? or what addition is thereby made to the grandeur of France? Every tailor in your corporation is as much a fellow subject as Mr. Steele: and do you think, in your conscience, that every tailor of Stockbridge is fit to direct her majesty and her ministers in "the sublime affairs of "her government?"

But he persists in it, "that it is no manner of "diminution of the wisdom of a prince, that he "is obliged to act by the information of others." The sense is admirable; and the interpretation is this, that what a man is forced to "is no dimi-"nution of his wisdom." But, if he would conclude from this sage maxim, that, because a prince "acts by the information of others," therefore those actions may lawfully be traduced in print by every fellow subject; I hope there is no man in England so much a whig as to be of his opinion.

Mr. Steele concludes his letter to you, with a story

about king William and his French dog-keeper, " who gave that prince a gun loaden only with " powder, and then pretended to wonder how his " majesty could miss his aim : which was no argu- " ment against the king's reputation for shooting " very finely." This he would have you apply, by allowing her majesty to be a wise prince, but deceived by wicked counsellors, who are in the interest of France. Her majesty's aim was peace : which, I think, she has not missed ; and God be thanked, she has got it, without any more expense, either of shot or powder. Her dogkeepers, for some years past, had directed her gun against her friends, and at last loaded it so deep, that it was in danger to burst in her hands.

You may please to observe, that Mr. Steele calls this dogkeeper a minister; which, with humble submission, is a gross impropriety of speech. The word is derived from the Latin, where it properly signifies a servant ; but in English is never made use of otherwise than to denominate those who are employed in the service of church or state : so that the appellation, as he directs it, is no less absurd, than it would be for you, Mr. Bailiff, to send your apprentice for a pot of ale, and give him the title of your envoy : to call a petty constable a magistrate, or the common hangman a minister of justice. I confess, when I was choqued * at this word in reading the paragraph, a gentleman offered his conjecture, that it might possibly be in-

* This expressive word, from the French *choquer*, has not yet found admission in the best of our English dictionaries : nor do any of Dr. Johnson's definitions of the common verb *choke* come up to the idea in which *choqued* is used above.

tended

tended for a reflection, or jest: but, if there be any thing farther in it than a want of understanding our language, I take it to be only a refinement upon the old levelling principle of the whigs. Thus, in their opinion, a dogkeeper is as much a minister as any secretary of state: and thus Mr. Steele and my lord treasurer are both fellow subjects. I confess, I have known some ministers, whose birth, or qualities, or both, were such, that nothing but the capriciousness of fortune, and the iniquity of the times, could ever have raised them above the station of dogkeepers; and to whose administration I should be loth to entrust a dog I had any value for: because, by the rule of proportion, they who treated their prince like a slave, would have used their fellow subjects like dogs; and yet how they would treat a dog, I can find no similitude to express; yet, I well remember, they maintained a large number, whom they taught to fawn upon themselves, and bark at their mistress. However, while they were in service, I wish they had only kept her majesty's dogs, and not been trusted with her guns. And thus much by way of comment upon this worthy story of king William and his dogkeeper.

I have now, Mr. Bailiff, explained to you all the difficult parts in Mr. Steele's letter. As for the importance of Dunkirk, and when it shall be demolished, or whether it shall be demolished or not; neither he, nor you, nor I, have any thing to do in the matter. Let us all say what we please, her majesty will think herself the best judge, and her ministers the best advisers: neither has Mr. Steele pretended to prove, that any law, ecclesiastical or civil, statute or common, is broken, by keeping Dun-

kirk undemolished, so long as the queen shall think it best for the service of herself and her kingdoms; and it is not altogether impossible, that there may be some few reasons of state, which have not been yet communicated to Mr. Steele. I am, with respect to the borough and yourself,

SIR,

Your most humble and
most obedient servant, &c.

THOUGHTS

# THOUGHTS

ON

# VARIOUS SUBJECTS*.

WE have just enough† religion to make us hate, but not enough to make us love one another.

Reflect on things past, as wars, negotiations, factions, &c. we enter so little into those interests, that we wonder how men could possibly be so busy and concerned, for things so transitory; look on the present times, we find the same humour, yet wonder not at all.

A wise man endeavours, by considering all circumstances, to make conjectures, and form conclusions;

* Mr. Pope and dean Swift, being in the country together, had occasion to observe, that if men of contemplative turns were to take notice of the thoughts which suddenly present themselves to their minds, as they were walking in the fields, &c. they might find many, perhaps, as well worth preserving, as some of their more deliberate reflections. They accordingly agreed to write down such involuntary thoughts as occurred, during their stay there; and these are such as belong to the dean. Mr. Pope's are in the seventeenth volume.

† This use of the word, *enough*, as an adjective, preceding a substantive, is not allowed; it ought to be—'religion enough to make us hate,' &c. or 'enough of religion,' &c.

but the smallest accident intervening (and in the course of affairs it is impossible to foresee all) does often produce such turns and changes, that at last he is just as much in doubt of events, as the most ignorant and unexperienced person.

Positiveness is a good quality for preachers and orators, because he that would obtrude his thoughts and reasons upon a multitude, will convince others the more, as he appears convinced himself.

How is it possible to expect that mankind will take advice, when they will not so much as take warning?

I forget whether advice be among the lost things, which Ariosto says are to be found in the moon; that, and time, ought to have been there.

No preacher is listened to but time, which gives us the same train and turn of thought, that elder people have tried in vain to put into our heads before.

When we desire or solicit any thing, our minds run wholly on the good side or circumstances of it; when it is obtained, our minds run wholly on the bad ones.

In a glasshouse the workmen often fling in a small quantity of fresh coals, which seems to disturb the fire, but very much enlivens it. This seems to allude to a gentle stirring of the passions, that the mind may not languish.

Religion seems to have grown an infant with age, and requires miracles to nurse it, as it had in its infancy.

All fits of pleasure are balanced by an equal degree of pain or languor; it is like spending this year, part of the next year's revenue.

The

The latter part of a wise man's life, is taken up in curing the follies, prejudices, and false opinions he had contracted in the former.

Would a writer know how to behave himself with relation to posterity, let him consider in old books what he finds that he is glad to know, and what omissions he most laments.

Whatever the poets pretend, it is plain they give immortality to none but themselves: it is Homer and Virgil we reverence and admire, not Achilles or Æneas. With historians it is quite the contrary; our thoughts are taken up with the actions, persons, and events we read, and we little regard the authors.

When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this sign, that the dunces are all in confederacy against him.

Men who possess all the advantages of life, are in a state where there are many accidents to disorder and discompose, but few to please them.

It is unwise to punish cowards with ignominy; for if they had regarded that, they would not have been cowards: death is their proper punishment, because they fear it most.

The greatest inventions were produced in the times of ignorance; as the use of the compass, gunpowder, and printing; and by the dullest nation, as the Germans.

One argument to prove that the common relations of ghosts and spectres are generally false, may be drawn from the opinion held, that spirits are never seen by more than one person at a time; that is to say, it seldom happens to above one person in

a company, to be possessed with any high degree of spleen or melancholy.

I am apt to think, that in the day of judgment, there will be small allowance given to the wise, for their want of morals, and to the ignorant, for their want of faith, because both are without excuse. This renders the advantages equal of ignorance and knowledge. But some scruples in the wise, and some vices in the ignorant, will perhaps be forgiven, upon the strength of temptation to each.

The value of several circumstances in story, lessens very much by distance of time, though some minute circumstances are very valuable; and it requires great judgment in a writer to distinguish.

It is grown a word of course for writers to say, This critical age, as divines say, This sinful age.

It is pleasant to observe how free the present age is in laying taxes on the next: future ages shall talk of this; this shall be famous to all posterity: whereas their time and thoughts will be taken up about present things, as ours are now.

The chameleon, who is said to feed upon nothing but air, has of all animals the nimblest tongue.

When a man is made a spiritual peer, he loses his surname; when a temporal, his christian-name.

It is in disputes, as in armies; where the weaker side sets up false lights, and makes a great noise, to make the enemy believe them more numerous and strong than they really are.

Some men, under the notions of weeding out prejudices, eradicate virtue, honesty, and religion.

In all well-instituted commonwealths, care has been taken to limit men's possessions; which is done for

for many reasons, and among the rest, for one, which perhaps is not often considered, that when bounds are set to men's desires, after they have acquired as much as the laws will permit them, their private interest is at an end, and they have nothing to do but to take care of the publick.

There are but three ways for a man to revenge himself of the censure of the world; to despise it, to return the like, or to endeavour to live so as to avoid it: the first of these is usually pretended, the last is almost impossible, the universal practice is for the second.

Herodotus tells us, that in cold countries beasts very seldom have horns, but in hot they have very large ones. This might bear a pleasant application.

I never heard a finer piece of satire against lawyers, than that of astrologers, when they pretend, by rules of art, to tell when a suit will end, and whether to the advantage of the plaintiff, or defendant; thus making the matter depend entirely upon the influence of the stars, without the least regard to the merits of the cause.

The expression in Apocrypha about Tobit and his dog following him, I have often heard ridiculed, yet Homer has the same words of Telemachus more than once; and Virgil says something like it of Evander. And I take the book of Tobit to be partly poetical.

I have known some men possessed of good qualities, which were very serviceable to others, but useless to themselves; like a sundial on the front of a house, to inform the neighbours and passengers, but not the owner within.

If a man would register all his opinions upon love,

love, politicks, religion, learning, &c. beginning from his youth and so go on to old age, what a bundle of inconsistencies and contradictions would appear at last?

What they do in Heaven we are ignorant of; what they do not we are told expressly, that they neither marry, nor are given in marriage.

When a man observes the choice of ladies nowadays in the dispensing of their favours, can he forbear paying some veneration to the memory of those mares mentioned by Xenophon, who, while their manes were on, that is, while they were in their beauty, would never admit the embraces of an ass.

It is a miserable thing to live in suspense; it is the life of a spider.

"Vive quidem, pende tamen, improba, dixit."
OVID. Metam.

The stoical scheme of supplying our wants, by lopping off our desires, is like cutting off our feet, when we want shoes.

Physicians ought not to give their judgment of religion, for the same reason that butchers are not admitted to be jurors upon life and death.

The reason why so few marriages are happy, is, because young ladies spend their time in making nets, not in making cages.

If a man will observe as he walks the streets, I believe he will find the merriest countenances in mourning coaches.

Nothing more unqualifies a man to act with prudence, than a misfortune that is attended with shame and guilt.

The power of fortune is confessed only by the miserable;

miserable; for the happy impute all their success to prudence or merit.

Ambition often puts men upon doing the meanest offices; so climbing is performed in the same posture with creeping.

Ill company is like a dog, who dirts those most whom he loves best.

Censure, is the tax a man pays to the publick, for being eminent.

Although men are accused for not knowing their own weakness, yet perhaps as few know their own strength. It is in men as in soils, where sometimes there is a vein of gold, which the owner knows not of.

Satire is reckoned the easiest of all wit; but I take it to be otherwise in very bad times: for it is as hard to satirize well a man of distinguished vices, as to praise well a man of distinguished virtues. It is easy enough to do either, to people of moderate characters.

Invention is the talent of youth, and judgment of age; so that our judgment grows harder to please, when we have fewer things to offer it: this goes through the whole commerce of life. When we are old, our friends find it difficult to please us, and are less concerned whether we be pleased or not.

No wise man ever wished to be younger.

An idle reason lessens the weight of the good ones you gave before.

The motives of the best actions will not bear too strict an inquiry. It is allowed, that the cause of most actions, good or bad, may be resolved into the love of ourselves: but the self-love of some men, inclines them to please others; and the self-love of others,

others, is wholly employed in pleasing themselves. This makes the great distinction between virtue and vice. Religion is the best motive of all actions, yet religion is allowed to be the highest instance of self-love.

When the world has once begun to use us ill, it afterward continues the same treatment with less scruple or ceremony, as men do to a whore.

Old men view best at a distance with the eyes of their understanding, as well as with those of nature.

Some people take more care to hide their wisdom, than their folly.

Arbitrary power is the natural object of temptation to a prince, as wine or women to a young fellow, or a bribe to a judge, or avarice to old age, or vanity to a woman.

Anthony Henly's farmer dying of an asthma, said, well, if I can get this breath once out, I'll take care it shall never get in again.

The humour of exploding many things under the name of trifles, fopperies, and only imaginary goods, is a very false proof either of wisdom or magnanimity, and a great check to virtuous actions. For instance, with regard to fame: there is in most people a reluctance and unwillingness to be forgotten. We observe even among the vulgar, how fond they are to have an inscription over their grave. It requires but little philosophy to discover and observe that there is no intrinsick value in all this; however, if it be founded in our nature, as an incitement to virtue, it ought not to be ridiculed.

Complaint is the largest tribute Heaven receives, and the sincerest part of our devotion.

The common fluency of speech in many men, and

and most women, is owing to a scarcity of matter, and a scarcity of words; for whoever is a master of language, and has a mind full of ideas, will be apt in speaking to hesitate upon the choice of both; whereas common speakers have only one set of ideas, and one set of words to clothe them in; and these are always ready at the mouth: so people come faster out of a church when it is almost empty, than when a crowd is at the door.

Few are qualified to shine in company; but it is in most men's power to be agreeable. The reason therefore why conversation runs so low at present, is not the defect of understanding, but pride, vanity, illnature, affectation, singularity, positiveness, or some other vice, the effect of a wrong education.

To be vain, is rather a mark of humility, than pride. Vain men delight in telling what honours have been done them, what great company they have kept, and the like, by which they plainly confess that these honours were more than their due, and such as their friends would not believe, if they had not been told: whereas a man truly proud, thinks the greatest honours below his merit, and consequently scorns to boast. I therefore deliver it as a maxim, that whoever desires the character of a proud man, ought to conceal his vanity.

Law, in a free country, is, or ought to be, the determination of the majority of those who have property in land.

One argument used to the disadvantage of Providence, I take to be a very strong one in its defence. It is objected, that storms and tempests, unfruitful seasons, serpents, spiders, flies, and other noxious or troublesome animals, with many more instances

instances of the like kind, discover an imperfection in nature, because human life would be much easier without them: but the design of Providence may clearly be perceived in this proceeding. The motions of the sun and moon; in short, the whole system of the universe, as far as philosophers have been able to discover and observe, are in the utmost degree of regularity and perfection; but wherever God has left to man the power of interposing a remedy by thought or labour, there he has placed things in a state of imperfection, on purpose to stir up human industry, without which life would stagnate, or indeed rather could not subsist at all: *Curis acuunt mortalia corda.*

Praise is the daughter of present power.

How inconsistent is man with himself!

I have known several persons of great fame for wisdom in publick affairs and councils, governed by foolish servants:

I have known great ministers, distinguished for wit and learning, who preferred none but dunces:

I have known men of great valour, cowards to their wives:

I have known men of the greatest cunning, perpetually cheated:

I knew three great ministers, who could exactly compute and settle the accompts of a kingdom, but were wholly ignorant of their own economy.

The preaching of divines helps to preserve well-inclined men in the course of virtue, but seldom or never reclaims the vicious.

Princes usually make wiser choices than the servants whom they trust for the disposal of places: I have known a prince, more than once, choose an able

able minister; but I never observed that minister to use his credit in the disposal of an employment to a person whom he thought the fittest for it. One of the greatest in this age, owned, and excused the matter, from the violence of parties, and the unreasonableness of friends.

Small causes are sufficient to make a man uneasy, when great ones are not in the way: for want of a block he will stumble at a straw.

Dignity, high station, or great riches, are in some sort necessary to old men, in order to keep the younger at a distance, who are otherwise too apt to insult them upon the score of their age.

Every man desires to live long, but no man would be old.

Love of flattery, in most men, proceeds from the mean opinion they have of themselves; in women, from the contrary.

If books and laws continue to increase as they have done for fifty years past, I am in some concern for future ages, how any man will be learned, or any man a lawyer.

Kings are commonly said to have long hands; I wish they had as long ears.

Princes in their infancy, childhood, and youth, are said to discover prodigious parts and wit, to speak things that surprise and astonish; strange, so many hopeful princes, and so many shameful kings! If they happen to die young, they would have been prodigies of wisdom and virtue: if they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of another sort.

Politicks, as the word is commonly understood, are nothing but corruptions, and consequently of no use

to

to a good king, or a good ministry; for which reason courts are so overrun with politicks.

Silenus, the foster father of Bacchus, is always carried by an ass, and has horns on his head. The moral is, that drunkards are led by fools, and have a great chance to be cuckolds.

Venus, a beautiful good natured lady, was the goddess of love; Juno, a terrible shrew, the goddess of marriage: and they were always mortal enemies.

Those who are against religion, must needs be fools; and therefore we read that of all animals, God refused the first born of an ass.

A very little wit is valued in a woman, as we are pleased with a few words spoken plain by a parrot.

A nice man is a man of nasty ideas.

Apollo was held the God of physick, and sender of diseases. Both were originally the same trade, and still continue.

Old men and comets have been reverenced for the same reason; their long beards, and pretences to foretel events.

A person was asked at court, what he thought of an embassador, and his train, who were all embroidery and lace, full of bows, cringes, and gestures; he said, it was Solomon's importation, gold and apes.

There is a story in Pausanias of a plot for betraying a city discovered by the braying of an ass: the cackling of geese saved the capitol, and Catiline's conspiracy was discovered by a whore. These are the only three animals, as far as I remember, famous in history as evidences and informers.

Most

Most sorts of diversion in men, children, and other animals, are in imitation of fighting.

Augustus meeting an ass with a lucky name, foretold himself good fortune. I meet many asses, but none of them have lucky names.

If a man makes me keep my distance, the comfort is he keeps his at the same time.

Who can deny that all men are violent lovers of truth, when we see them so positive in their errours, which they will maintain out of their zeal to truth, although they contradict themselves every day of their lives?

That was excellently observed, say I, when I read a passage in an author, where his opinion agrees with mine. When we differ, there I pronounce him to be mistaken.

Very few men, properly speaking, live at present, but are providing to live another time.

As universal a practice as lying is, and as easy a one as it seems, I do not remember to have heard three good lies in all my conversation, even from those who were most celebrated in that faculty.

AN

# ESSAY*

ON

# NATIONAL REWARDS;

BEING A PROPOSAL FOR BESTOWING THEM ON A PLAN MORE DURABLE AND RESPECTABLE.

Cuncti adsint, meritæque expectent præmia palmæ. VIRG.

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THERE is no maxim in politicks more indisputable, than that a nation should have many honours to reserve for those who do national services. This raises emulation, cherishes publick merit, and inspires every one with an ambition which promotes the good of his country. The less expensive these honours are to the publick, the more still do they turn to its advantage.

The Romans abounded with these little honorary rewards, that, without conferring wealth and riches, gave only place and distinction to the person who received them. An oaken garland, to be worn on

* This Essay was first printed in the Guardian, No. 96.

festivals

festivals and publick ceremonies, was the glorious recompense of one who had covered a citizen in battle. A soldier would not only venture his life for a mural crown, but think the most hazardous enterprise sufficiently repaid by so noble a donation.

But, among all honorary rewards which are neither dangerous nor detrimental to the donor, I remember none so remarkable as the titles which are bestowed by the emperor of China. "These "are never given to any subject," says monsieur le Comte, "till the subject is dead. If he has "pleased his emperor to the last, he is called in "all publick memorials by the title which the em-"peror confers on him after his death, and his "children take their ranks accordingly." This keeps the ambitious subject in a perpetual dependence, making him always vigilant and active, and in every thing conformable to the will of his sovereign.

There are no honorary rewards among us, which are more esteemed by the persons who receive them, and are cheaper to the prince, than the giving of medals. But there is something in the modern manner of celebrating a great action in medals, which makes such a reward much less valuable than it was among the Romans. There is generally but one coin stamped upon the occasion, which is made a present to the person who is celebrated on it. By this means the whole fame is in his own custody. The applause that is bestowed upon him is too much limited and confined. He is in possession of an honour which the world perhaps knows nothing of. He may be a great man in his own family; his wife and children may see the monument of an exploit, which the

in a little time is a stranger to. The Romans took a quite different method in this particular. Their medals were their current money. When an action deserved to be recorded on a coin, it was stamped perhaps upon a hundred thousand pieces of money, like our shillings or halfpence, which were issued out of the mint, and became current. This method published every noble action to advantage, and in a short space of time spread through the whole Roman empire. The Romans were so careful to preserve the memory of great events upon their coins, that when any particular piece of money grew very scarce, it was often recoined by a succeeding emperor, many years after the death of the emperor to whose honour it was first struck.

A friend of mine drew up a project of this kind during the late ministry, which would then have been put in execution, had it not been too busy a time for thoughts of that nature. As this project has been very much talked of by the gentleman abovementioned to men of the greatest genius as well as quality, I am informed there is now a design on foot for executing the proposal which was then made, and that we shall have several farthings and halfpence charged on the reverse with many of the glorious particulars of her majesty's reign. This is one of those arts of peace which may very well deserve to be cultivated, and which may be of great use to posterity.

As I have in my possession the copy of the paper abovementioned, which was delivered to the late lord treasurer* I shall here give the publick a sight of

* Earl of Godolphin; not Oxford, as Mr. Granger supposes in the preface to his Biographical History.

it;

it; for I do not question but that the curious part of my readers will be very well pleased to see so much matter, and so many useful hints upon this subject, laid together in so clear and concise a manner:

"The English have not been so careful as other "polite nations to preserve the memory of their "great actions and events on medals. Their sub- "jects are few, their mottoes and devices mean, "and the coins themselves not numerous enough "to spread among the people, or descend to pos- "terity.

"The French have outdone us in these parti- "culars, and by the establishment of a society for "the invention of proper inscriptions and designs, "have the whole history of their present king in a "regular series of medals.

"They have failed, as well as the English, in "coining so small a number of each kind, and "those of such costly metals that each species may "be lost in a few ages, and is at present no where "to be met with but in the cabinets of the curious.

"The ancient Romans took the only effectual "method to disperse and preserve their medals, by "making them their current money.

"Every thing glorious or useful, as well in peace "as war, gave occasion to a different coin. Not "only an expedition, victory, or triumph, but "the exercise of a solemn devotion, the remission "of a duty or tax, a new temple, seaport, or "highway, were transmitted to posterity after this "manner.

"The greatest variety of devices are on their "copper money, which have most of the designs

"that

" that are to be met with on the gold and silver,
" and several peculiar to that metal only. By this
" means they were dispersed into the remotest
" corners of the empire, came into the possession
" of the poor as well as rich, and were in no
" danger of perishing in the hands of those that
" might have melted down coins of a more valuable
" metal.

" Add to all this, that the designs were invented
" by men of genius, and executed by a decree
" of the senate.

" It is therefore proposed:

" 1. That the English farthings and halfpence be
" recoined upon the union of the two nations.

" 2. That they bear devices and inscriptions
" alluding to all the most remarkable parts of her
" majesty's reign.

" 3. That there be a society established, for the
" finding out of proper subjects, inscriptions, and
" devices.

" That no subject, inscription, or device, be
" stamped without the approbation of this society;
" nor, if it be thought proper, without the authority
" of privy council.

" By this means, medals, that are at present
" only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will
" be of use in the ordinary commerce of life, and
" at the same time, perpetuate the glories of her ma-
" jesty's reign, reward the labours of her greatest
" subjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for
" publick services, and excite the emulation of pos-
" terity. To these generous purposes nothing can
" so much contribute as medals of this kind, which
" are of undoubted authority, of necessary use and

" observation

" observation, not perishable by time, nor confined
" to any certain place; properties not to be found in
" books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other
" monuments of illustrious actions*."

* It has been ingeniously proposed, to supply the defect of English medals, by collections of engraved portraits, which, however useful in themselves, have lain under the same prejudices with ancient coins, and have been generally esteemed as little more than empty amusements. For want of regularity, the poetaster frequently takes place of the poet, and the pedant of the man of genius: John Ogilby is exalted above Mr. Dryden, and Alexander Ross (the continuator of Raleigh's History) has the precedence of sir Walter, because engraved by a better hand. Mr. Evelyn, in his " Numismata," has recommended such a collection. Granger.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

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